University of Alberta

Johann Walter and Martin Luther: Theology and Music in the Early Lutheran Church

by

Katherine Joan Sander

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Music

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Soli Deo Gloria

ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is Johann Walter, known as the first *Kantor* of the Lutheran Church. It is an investigation of his life and works, with an emphasis on the theology of the early Lutheran Church. What was later to become known as the doctrine of justification is the focal point for an examination of the musical writings of both Martin Luther and Walter. The writings of two other reformers, Philip Melanchthon and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, are examined in light of their disparate outcomes with regard to music. A detailed description of the liturgical reforms begun by Luther is provided as a framework for his theological criteria in matters of *adiaphora* such as music. The writings of contemporary music theorists Johannes Tinctoris, Nicolaus Listenius, Adrian Petit Coclico, Nicolaus Burtius and Hermann Finck are explored for insight into musical matters, especially the affect of the modes. While much has previously been written about the music of the Reformation, the relatively small amount of literature in English does not provide an adequate picture of the theology involved. This thesis is an attempt to rectify that situation.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

Many people were instrumental in the making of this thesis. My father, Dr. Bruce Harrison, whom I will always admire, taught me from an early age to write with clarity. My ever-patient husband, Mark Sander, was there for support, encouragement, and most importantly to oppose me in mock debates. My supervisor, Dr. Brian Harris, taught me to believe that I was a scholar. He has been an unending well of academic inspiration. All three men have taught me the value of scholarship and the communication of ideas.

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CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although the Reformation was to have a momentous effect on the theology of the Christian Church, it had a very humble beginning. In northern Germany, far from the seat of Rome, a lowly monk who was teaching at the University of Wittenberg had a simple revelation. That revelation, which was later to develop into the doctrine of justification, became a crucial point in the understanding of Scripture and authority in the Church. What began as a simple theological question was to have profound theological and musical implications.

The monk was, of course, Martin Luther. The details of Luther's life and his contemporary political and religious environment can be found in many texts on the Reformation.[1] For the purposes of this study, a chronological chart is provided in Figure 1. Of interest here are the details of Luther's theology which Johann Walter found appealing, and the historical events that were to have an effect on Walter's environment directly. Because detailed accounts of Walter's life are rather difficult to find in English, and because recent information from the German sources is not included in the English texts, a biography of Walter is provided.

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[1] On the life of Martin Luther, see: Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Mentor, 1950); Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483–1521*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985); idem, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); idem, *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); and Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

For general information on the Reformation see: Oberman, *The Reformation: roots and ramifications*, trans. Andrew Colin Gow (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1994); Roland H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the sixteenth century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952); and, Will Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300–1564*, The Story of Civilizaton 4 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957).

1483	Luther is born in Eisleben
1485	Saxony is divided between Ernest and Albert
1490	Frederick the Wise organizes the *Hofkapelle*
1496	Walter is born in Kahla
1498	Luther attends school in Eisenach
1501	Luther matriculates from Erfurt
1502	Frederick the Wise establishes the University of Wittenberg
1505	Luther enters the Augustinian cloister at Erfurt
1517	Luther posts the ninety-five theses
	Walter studies at the University of Leipzig
1519	Death of Emperor Maximilian, Election of Charles V
1520	Walter joins the *Hofkapelle*
1521	Diet of Worms
	Luther is exiled to the Wartburg
	Francis I declares war on Charles V
1522	Knights' Revolt
	Henry VIII of England joins the Emperor against France
	Luther returns to Wittenberg
	Luther's German New Testament is published
1524	Walter succeeds Rener as composer for the *Hofkapelle*
	Walter and Rupsch are summoned to Wittenberg
	The *Chorgesangbuch*
1525	John the Steadfast succeeds Frederick the Wise
	Francis I is captured and freed
	The *Hofkapelle* is dissolved
	Peasants' Revolt
	Luther marries Katherina von Bora
	Luther writes the *Deutsche Messe*
1526	The Battle of the Mohacs—the Turks defeat and kill Louis II
	Walter marries Anna Hesse
1527	Walter's son, Johann, is born
1529	Protest at the Diet of Speyer
	Soliman II (Turkish) lays siege to Vienna
	Francis I joins forces with Charles V against Soliman II
1530	Luther is confined to the castle at Coburg
	Presentation of the Augsburg Confession
1534	The complete German Bible is published
	Walter is made *Kantor* of the Torgau Latin school
1542	Luther sends his son to Torgau
1544	Walter sends his son to Wittenberg
1545	The General Council in Trent begins
1546	Luther dies in Eisleben
1547	Charles V defeats John the Steadfast
	Moritz moves residence to Dresden, establishes the *Hofkapelle*
1551	Walter's son marries
1554	Walter resigns from Dresden
1570	Walter dies
1571	Walter's wife dies

Fig. 1. Chronology of Events

Martin Luther

The life of Martin Luther (1483–1546) has been well documented. His posting of the ninety-five theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on 31 October 1517 is probably the best-known act of the Reformation. What is little understood is that Luther was following the custom at the time for private scholarly debate, and that he merely wanted to begin a discussion regarding the practice of selling indulgences.[2] The ensuing events resulted in Luther's expulsion from the Catholic Church. Before Luther was excommunicated, however, he struggled with his position regarding indulgences. As he read the Greek New Testament, he came across an important point that was not only to explain the problem with indulgences, but would become the central point of all his theology. Luther's discovery about "justification" would also become a doctrine to which the whole Lutheran church, Johann Walter included, would cling.

Justification is most succinctly described in the fourth article of the Augsburg Confession of 1530:

> Also [our Churches] teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, has made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight. Rom. 3 and 4. [Romans 3:21–26 and 4:5][3]

Walter's understanding of the Lutheran teaching that we are saved by faith, not works, is seen most clearly in his poems of 1564, which he directs against the "false prophets who teach that no man can be saved without good works."[4]

---

[2] Indulgences can most simply be explained thus: while each individual is accountable for individual sins, the corporate goodness of all believers (and especially Mary, Jesus, and the saints, since they had goodness to spare) is held in something like a treasury. The pope, who has been granted the keys to bind and loose, has the power to credit the goodness of the saints to any individual he pleases. The transfer of credit is considered an indulgence, and can either reduce one's time in purgatory or release one altogether. At first, indulgences were granted to the Crusaders who sacrificed their lives. Then, those unable to go on crusade who made financial contributions to the cause were granted indulgences. Finally, the church saw a vehicle for the generation of revenue, and indulgences were sold freely at the sites of relics, or even just on the street.

[3] *Concordia Triglotta* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), 45.

[4] Joachim Stalmann, forward to *Sämtliche Werke*, by Johann Walter, trans. John A. Parkinson, ed. Otto Schröder and Max Schneider (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953–1973), 6:xix [hereafter identified as *S W*]. Walter's statement is found in *S W* 6:170.

Political Events of Interest

A cursory outline of the political situation in Germany during the lives of Luther and Walter is provided by the chronology in Figure 1 and the family tree of the Hapsburgs in Figure 2. Two events which should be emphasized, however, are the division of Saxony and the coronation of Charles V.

In 1485, Saxony was divided between two brothers, Ernest and Albert, sons of Frederick of the house of Wettin. The divisions were designated the Electorate of Saxony (Ernestine) and the Duchy of Saxony (Albertine). The former included Wittenberg and Torgau, while the latter included Leipzig and Dresden. The border between the division was intentionally meandering, in the hope that the division would not lead to later strife.

On the death of Emperor Maximilian I in 1519, Charles V was chosen by the German electors to be King of the Romans and Emperor. See Figure 2 for his family tree. Many of the conflicts outlined in Figure 1 occurred between Charles V and his siblings.

Johann Walter[6]

Early Life and Education

The details of Johann Walter's early life are somewhat obscure. While Walter E. Buszin contends that Walter was born in Großpürschitz, most other sources agree that he was born in Kahla, near Jena. His parents were not wealthy farmers, as has previously

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[6] Details of Walter's life are derived from: Walter Blankenburg, *Johann Walter: Leben und Werk* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991), 28–123; Walter E. Buszin, "Johann Walter: the Father of Lutheran Church Music" (M.S.M., Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1936); Barbara Joy Colson, "An Examination of the Stylistic Characteristics of Johann Walter as seen through the chorale settings of the *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn* 1524" (M.Mus. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, July 1978); Kathryn Ann Pohlmann Duffy, "The Jena Choirbooks: music and liturgy at the castle church in Wittenberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago: Department of Music, June 1995); Wilibald Gurlitt, "Johannes Walter und die Musik der Reformationszeit," *Lutherjahrbuch* XV (1933): 1–112; Carl Schalk, *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992); and Larry R. Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein* of Johann Walter and its Historical Environment" (D.M.A. diss., University of Southern California: Faculty of the School of Music, August 1967).

As noted by Blankenburg, Walter has been spelt both with and without an "h" since the sixteenth century. Walter seldom used the "Walther" spelling himself. The "Walter" spelling has prevailed in recent musicological literature, providing a clear distinction from Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), a relative and close friend of Johann Sebastian Bach. See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 28. In accordance with the spelling of Johann Sebastian Bach, I have retained the German spelling of Walter's given name. Those names which are used with an apposition (*e.g.* Frederick the Wise) have been Anglicised.

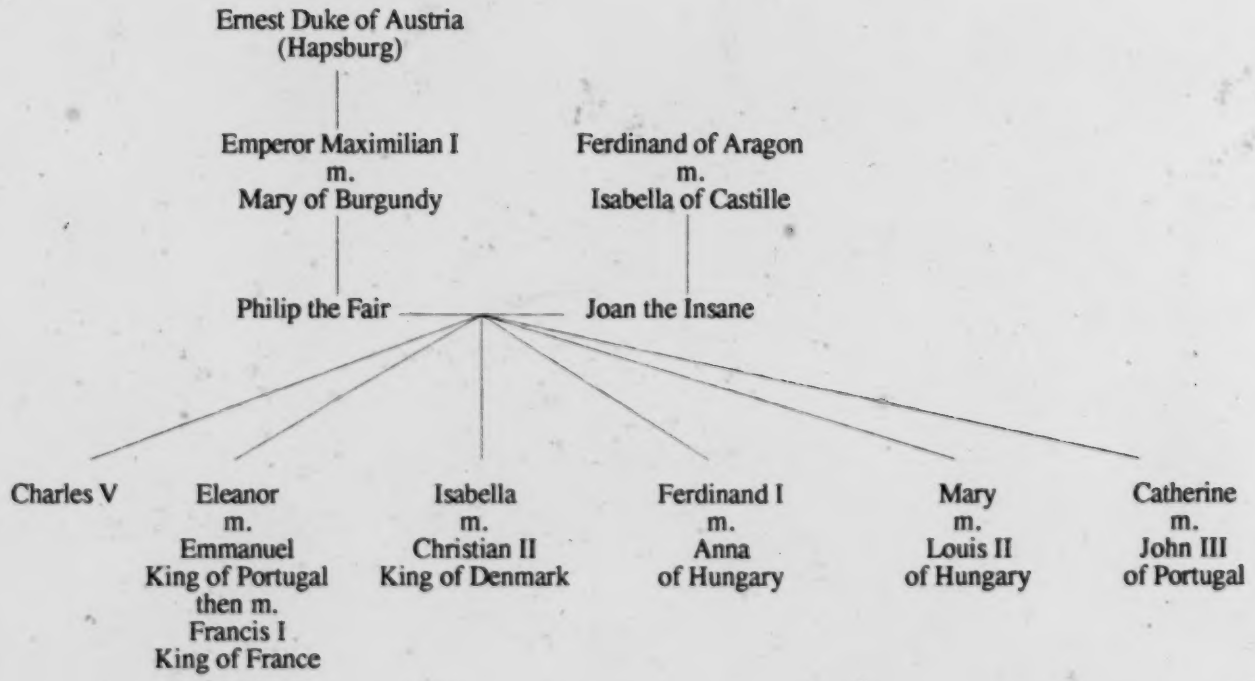

Fig. 2. Family Tree of Charles V

been assumed, but rather poor peasants who lived in a mill known as the *Blanckenmühle*.[6] The confusion has resulted over the fact that Walter was actually born Johann Blanckenmoller (or Blankenmüller) and was adopted by the Walter family. Johann Walter had three brothers, all of whom retained the Blanckenmoller name their whole lives.[7] Their names were Hans, Hans (who lived in Großpürschitz), and Nickel. Walter also had a sister, Clara, who was born with the Walter name. She later married a man named Becker, and after his death married Hans Sonntagk.[8] Although the reason Johann was the only Blanckenmoller son to be adopted by the Walters can not be known for certain, Blankenburg claims that it was as a result of his apparent academic aptitude: because Johann's parents knew that they would not be able to finance his education themselves, they put him up for adoption.

Walter's education appears to have been provided by three institutions: the Latin school in Kahla; the Latin school in Rochlitz; and, the University of Leipzig. The Latin school in Kahla was a respected school in the sixteenth century, and Walter is assumed to have been an outstanding student. This may have been the impetus for his move to Rochlitz, where he would have studied under the chancellor Michael Coelius, who was held in high esteem by Luther and taught there from 1513 to 1523. The dates of Walter's attendance at both these schools are uncertain, but by the summer semester of 1517 he was found to be in seventeenth place of the "Meißnische Nation" at the University of Leipzig.[9] While Walter has on occasion been referred to as "Magister," there is no evidence that he ever obtained his master's degree. Nevertheless, his education at the two Latin schools and the University of Leipzig would have provided him with a good grounding in music theory, as well as exposure to the humanist rediscoveries that were prevalent at the time.

---

[6] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 30.

[7] Johann is assumed to have been the eldest.

[8] Some of the information about Walter's early life comes from Walter's will of 1562 and a letter of Hans Sonntagk (1599) to the city of Kahla, in which he makes claim for his inheritance. See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 29–30 and 106–108.

[9] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 31–33.

The Torgau *Hofkapelle*

Frederick the Wise (1463–1525) became Elector of Ernestine Saxony in 1486, succeeding Elector Ernest (after whom the lands had been named when Saxony was divided between the brothers Ernest and Albert in 1485). He was somewhat educated, showed an interest in humanism and provided financial support for the fine arts. In the interest of establishing a court choir, he visited the Netherlands in order to study the choirs there. He modelled his *Hofkapelle* "after the Burgundian *Hofkapellen* of Margaret of York, Philip the Beautiful, and particularly after that of Emperor Maximilian, which was the most famous of that period."[10]

Frederick brought the Dutch organist Paul Hofhaimer (1459–1537) back from the Netherlands, and placed the *Hofkapelle* "into the hands of two of the most prominent musicians of his day, Adam of Fulda (1446–1506) and Heinrich Isaac (1450–1517)."[11] The choir "consisted of five chaplains, seven adult singers (basses, altos, and tenors) and twelve sopranos, who were called descanters."[12] Regarding the material sung by the choir, Buszin gives the following description:

> Frederick's Hofkapelle had the best music of its day in its library. It is known that Frederick had thirty-six collections of music copied by hand (perhaps by the Burgundians Martin Bourgeois and Pierre van den Hove) for his musicians. Seventeen of those very beautiful and expensive volumes are today in the library of the University of Jena. From these volumes one can get an idea concerning the repertoire of the Hofkapelle. Most of the compositions were masses written in the traditional style, the tenors singing the cantus firmus and the other voices accompanying them with descant. Not only the motettes [*sic*] and masses of German composers, but also those of Italian (chiefly Venetian), English and French masters were sung. The following composers were well represented: Jacob Arcadelt, Adrian Willaert, Cyprian de Rore (all of Italy), and the Spaniard Christobal Morales, who lived in Rome and was connected with the papal choir. The Netherland School was best represented, not only by Josquin des Pres, but also by Petrus de la Rue and other pupils of Okeghem [*sic*] and Jacob Obrecht.
>
> Among the German composers whose compositions were sung by the Hofkapelle we find the following listed: Ludwig Senfl, Heinrich Isaac, Sixt Dietrich, Adam Rener, Alexander Agricola and Johannes Prioris. Strange to say, the composers Adam of Fulda and Heinrich Finck are not mentioned or represented.[13]

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[10] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 5.

[11] Ibid., 6.

[12] Ibid., 7.

[13] Ibid., 7–8.

Many sources have Walter joining the electoral choir as a bass singer in 1517. The electoral residence was then in the castle at Altenburg. Larry Warkentin even goes so far as to claim: "It is possible that Walter joined the electoral choir as a discant in 1506 when he was ten years old."[14] Blankenburg, however, insists that Walter could not have joined the *Hofkapelle* before 1520. It is possible that Walter entered the *Hofkapelle* at Altenburg, which may not have moved to Torgau until 1521. There he may also have met Georg Spalatin, the court chaplain and intermediary between Luther and Frederick the Wise. The first official record of his membership is dated 1521, and consists of an order for summer clothing for Walter.[15] Conrad Rupsch was the *Kapellmeister* at the time, and he may have already had Walter in mind as a replacement for the court composer, Adam Rener (d. 1520). Walter had taken this position by 1525, when he was described in a court bill as "Componist in der Churfürstlichen Cantorei."[16]

In 1524, Walter was called upon to join Luther in Wittenberg to help him with the musical portions of the *Deutsche Messe*. Luther's request and the resulting arrangements are described by Warkentin:

> To advise him in preparing the musical portion of the new mass Luther requested the assistance of Conrad Rupsch and Johann Walter who were in the service of Frederick the Wise. The financial records of the Duke show that Rupsch and Walter received extra payment for their work with Luther. These musicians travelled from Torgau and spent three weeks working with Luther on the epoch making German Mass (Deutsche Messe).[17]

Walter's account of the meeting is found in the first volume of Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma musicum* (1614):

> When he, Luther, forty years ago desired to introduce the German Mass in Wittenberg, he communicated this wish to the Prince Elector of Saxony and to the late Duke Johann. He urged his electoral Highness to bring the old singing master, the worthy Konrad Rupsch, and me to Wittenberg. At that time he discussed with us the Gregorian chants and the nature of the eight modes, and finally he applied the eighth mode to the Epistle and the sixth mode to the Gospel, saying: "Christ is a kind Lord, and his words are sweet; therefore we want to take the sixth mode for the Gospel; and because Paul is a serious apostle we want to arrange the eighth mode for the Epistle." Luther himself wrote the music for the lessons and the words of institution of the true blood and body of Christ, sang them to me, and

[14] Warkentin, 58.

[15] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 36.

[16] Ibid., 37.

[17] Warkentin, 66–67.

> wanted to hear my opinion of it. He kept me for three weeks to note down properly the chants of the Gospels and Epistles, until the first mass was sung in Wittenberg. I had to attend it and take a copy of this first mass with me to Torgau. And one sees, hears, and understands at once how the Holy Spirit has been active not only in the authors who composed the Latin hymns and set them to music, but in Herr Luther himself, who now has invented most of the poetry and melody of the German chants. And it can be seen from the German Sanctus how he arranged all the notes to the text with the right *accent* and *concent* in masterly fashion. I, at the same time, was tempted to ask His Reverence from where he had these pieces and his knowledge; whereupon the dear man laughed at my simplicity. He told me that the poet Virgil had taught him such, he, who is able so artistically to fit his meter and words to the story which he is narrating. All music should be so arranged that its notes are in harmony with the text.[18]

Luther is also known to have made at least forty trips to Torgau, and Blankenburg muses whether he actually stayed with Walter, also postulating that perhaps they met at the house of the electoral advisor Wolfgang Reißenbusch.[19]

Frederick the Wise died on 5 May 1525. He was succeeded by John the Steadfast (Johann der Beständige), who "disbanded the Hofkapelle and the choir of the castle church in Wittenberg. This had its precedent when Emperor Charles V disbanded the famous Hofkapelle of Emperor Maximilian in 1519, shortly after Maximilian's death."[20] While this situation caused both Luther and Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) to write letters to the Elector pleading for the choir in Torgau, the result was somewhat less than dire:

> The change made in Torgau proved to be of the utmost importance in the development of Lutheran church music and it would perhaps not be amiss to state that the decision made by John the Steadfast proved to be a blessing in disguise. Through his decision John abrogated the existence of an organization which served the court (Hofkapelle) and unwittingly brought into existence an institution which serves the Church, namely the cantorate ("Kantorei"). Torgau thus became the first city of Germany to establish a cantorate.[21]

The Torgau *Kapelle* and Latin School

Warkentin describes the formation of the municipal choir in Torgau:

> The citizens of Torgau established a municipal choir to replace the disbanded court choir. The Elector encouraged this organization by subsidizing it with a

[18] Quoted in Schalk, 6.

[19] "Insgesamt sind mehr als vierzig Aufenthalte Luthers in Torgau bekannt. Dort könnten sie, wenn nicht in Walters eigenem Haus, zum Beispiel bei dem kursächsischen Rat Wolfgang Reißenbusch zusammengetroffen sein...." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 80.

[20] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 15.

[21] Ibid., 18.

> payment of 100 guilders a year. This choir had the responsibility of singing in the services of the castle church as well as supplying music for various important civic events. The "Kantorei-Gesellschaft" of Torgau, as this choir was known, has the distinction of being the first municipal choir in the history of the Protestant Church.
>
> As its first *Cantor* (director) the choir of Torgau chose Johann Walter.[22]

Johann Walter also received a pension from the Elector in the sum of twenty-five guilders per year. Buszin provides a list of the repertoire that the *Kantorei* collected over the years:

> .... Walter's 'Geistliche Gesangbüchlein;' .... Walter's 'Passion according to St. Matthew;' .... Walther's 'Luther-Codex' of 1545, a collection (copied by hand) of twenty-four German and one hundred fifteen Latin compositions by Josquin des Pres, Adam Rener, Prioris, de la Rue, de Fevin, Ludwig Senfl and many others. The wellknown 'Gothaer Cantional' of 1545, a collection of forty-two German and sixty-nine Latin compositions; a Magnificat Collection of 1557 and a printed edition of 'Christlich Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri: Erhalt uns HErr' of 1566 with eighteen German and three Latin compositions were also used by Walther and his group. In 1540 Georg Rhau dedicated a collection of ten four-part masses to the Torgau cantorate; it is not surprising that this collection was also in the library. Finally we find that Rhau's large collection bearing the title 'Neue deutsche geistliche Gesänge..für die gemeinen Schulen' (Wittenberg, 1544) was also used in Torgau.[23]

Walter provided music for three churches in Torgau: the *Schloßkirche* (Castle Church), the *Marienkirche* (Church of St. Mary) and the *Kirche zum Heiligen Geist* (Church of the Holy Spirit).

In the midst of the dissolution of the *Hofkapelle* and the formation of the *Kantorei*, Walter married Anna Hesse (1500–1571), the daughter of the Elector's blacksmith, Hans Hesse (d. 1517). They were married on 26 June 1526, and had one son, Johannes (8 May 1527–1578). In 1532, Walter bought a house in Torgau for 154 guilders, and thus "gained the right to vote (Buergerricht). As a property owner he was permitted to sign himself as 'citizen and director of the choir of Torgau' (Buerger und der Cantorey zu Torgau Cantor.)"[24]

Johann Walter served not only as the *Kantor* of the municipal *Kantorei* in Torgau, but also taught at the Latin school. He began teaching there before 1531. In 1534, the school had an enrolment of 170 boys. Walter taught music, Latin, and theology. By 1545, attendance at the school was restricted to 400 boys, and Walter's responsibilities

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[22] Warkentin, 79–80.

[23] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 27.

[24] Warkentin, 81.

were limited to music. "His work load consisted of three hours a week of music theory instruction, two hours a week of singing instruction and three hours a week of special instruction in his home for choir boys who sang in the castle church. In addition to these regular assignments, he was required to rehearse the school choir during the noon hour every day during the week preceding each of the great festivals, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost."[25]

Not only did Walter's son attend his father's Latin school in the 1540's, but Luther also sent his son Hans to study there in 1542, with a letter commending Walter's knowledge of music. Walter in turn sent his son in 1544 to Wittenberg, where he studied with Melanchthon. Walter also taught the fathers of Leonhart Schröter and Michael Praetorius, as well as Georg Otto, the teacher of Heinrich Schütz. "Some years later, as Landgrave Maurice of Hesse tried to persuade Heinrich Schütz to come to his court to serve as his Kapellmeister he stated that a musician, in order to have a good rating, almost had to be a product of the Torgua [*sic*] School. Although Schütz himself had not lived and studied at Torgau, the very fact that his teacher had been one of its products was regarded as sufficient evidence of the adequacy of Schütz's training."[26]

Walter may have also had the opportunity at this time to meet the composer and theorist Adrian Petit Coclico (ca. 1500–1562). Coclico was in Wittenberg between autumn 1545 and August 1546, where he applied (in vain) for a position at the University. The Elector sent ten guilders to Coclico for the dedication of a composition, and Walter was authorized with its delivery. There are, unfortunately, no records in the writings of either man of their encounter.[27]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 23.

[27] "In die Zeit um 1545/46 fällt noch ein erwähnenswertes Ereignis von Walters Leben, von dem wir freilich nicht wissen, ob es für ihn irgendwelche nennenswerte Bedeutung gehabt hat, es war ein Zusammentreffen mit dem aus Flandern stammenden Komponisten und Musiktheoretiker Adrianus Petit Coclico, der sich von Herbst 1545 bis August 1546 in Wittenberg aufgehalten und dort sich vergeblich um eine Dozentur an der Universität beworben hatte. Als der Kurfürst Coclico zehn Gulden für die Widmung einer Komposition zukommen ließ, war es Walter, der mit der Überbringung des Betrags beauftragt wurde. Leider fehlt jede nähere Nachricht über beider Zusammentreffen; denn ein Urteil Walters über Coclico, der der Reformation distanziert gegenüberstand, wäre von großem Interesse gewesen." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 80.

The Dresden *Hofkapelle*

In 1546, the year of Luther's death, Charles V began his campaign against the Lutheran princes who had formed the Schmalkaldic League.[28] He was supported by revenue from the Catholic Church and assisted by Ferdinand of Hungary and Moritz of Albertine Saxony. When Moritz advanced on Ernestine Saxony, John the Steadfast was forced to leave the front to defend his territories. He was defeated on 24 April 1547. Moritz took over Ernestine Saxony and moved the court to Dresden.

Moritz wanted to establish a *Hofkapelle* in Dresden, and he solicited the talents of Johann Walter for the task. On 10 August 1548, Walter circulated a proclamation on behalf of the Elector:

> The most illustrious highness Prince and Sovereign, Lord Moritz, Duke of Saxony and Elector etc., is establishing a court choir. Therefore His Electoral Grace has given me, Johann Walter, Music director of Torgau, in the following instructions, a command to solicit persons with good voices, good training, and pleasant countenances to serve in such a choir.[29]

Buszin gives a detailed account of the formation and administration of the choir which is worth a full citation:

> A call soon went out to various parts of Germany, urging capable men and boys to become candidates for membership in the Dresdener Hofkapelle. The invitation went out also to the students at the universities at Leipzig and Wittenberg. It is known that the appeal was read to the students at the University of Wittenberg on the 19th of August in the Latin language by Caspar Cruciger, the rector of the university. A large number of candidates applied, of whom nineteen were chosen as probationers for a period of six months. Ten of these nineteen were 'adults', while nine were boys (descanters, sopranos). One of the adult members of the Kapelle, who possessed the necessary training and education, was given the office of preceptor for the nine boys, in order that their education might not be neglected. The members of the Hofkapelle were required to pledge obedience, reverence, Christian decorum, attendance at all regular and special rehearsals. Two boys were appointed periodically to read portions from the German and Latin editions of the Bible in the chapel exercises conducted especially for the young boys. Rehearsals lasting an hour were held each day and Walther was granted the privilege of having as many special rehearsals as he chose. The members of the Hofkapelle were garbed in black vestments and received one new court-garment each year. On the right sleeve of each vestment, near the shoulder, the motto of Saxony, was stitched

[28] "A German Protestant military federation (1531–1547), the Schmalkald League was based on an agreement made at Schmalkalden (in Thuringia) in December 1530. The founding treaty was signed there in February 1531." One of the many steps towards this alliance was the common protest against the Diet of Speyer in 1529, from whence the term "Protestants" emerged. Its defined purpose was the defense of the Lutheran religion. See Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "Schmalkald League," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4:12-15.

[29] Warkentin, 84.

> with gold threads. This consisted in the words 'Verbum Dei Manet in Aeternum' ('The Word of God Remains into Eternity'). On the vestments the motto was abbreviated thus: VDMIE. The Kapellmeister and the Organist, however, received two garments each year. The boys lived in the home of the Kapellmeister, who was responsible for their welfare, fed them, and, among other things, gave each of the boys a container filled with beer each night which was to serve the purpose of aiding the boys to fall asleep ('Schlauftrunk'). The Kapellmeister and the instructor for the boys received an annual salary of forty Gulden each. The salary of the organist was thirty Gulden, and each of the adult singers received a salary of twenty-four Gulden. They too were granted a portion of beer each day. The Kapellmeister and the instructor, besides receiving daily a jug filled with beer, received also a container filled with wine daily, taken from the wine cellar of the Elector. Stipulated amounts were granted to the Kapellmeister for the sustenance of the boys he was obliged to keep in his house, and the Kapellmeister rendered a detailed account of the needs of the boys with regard to clothing, textbooks, paper, ink, soap, etc. Having this close contact with each other quite naturally left its impression on these boys and also advanced them musically. According to all indications conditions were almost ideal for Walther at Dresden during his service under Elector Maurice. The work was well regulated and obviously the Elector had great confidence in his chief musician.[30]

After the Leipzig Interim of 1548, Walter found it necessary to keep his family and the choirboys who lived with him away from communion services conducted by clergy who had submitted to the Interim.[31] He maintained a strong adherence to Luther's teaching of justification by faith alone throughout his stay in Dresden.[32] Perhaps he was relieved when Moritz died in 1553 and he had an excuse to return to Torgau.

Return to Torgau

Walter's son, Johann Walter, Jr., married Elizabeth Crodel, the daughter of Marcus Crodel (the Torgau school master) on 30 November 1551. They bought a house in Torgau in 1553. There are reports that Johann Walter, Jr. was singing in the choir at Dresden in

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[30] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 28–29.

[31] Not only did the Leipzig Interim reaffirm the necessity of good works for salvation, it was an attempt by the Romanists to reinstitute many of the ceremonies which had been abolished by the Lutherans, considered to be "adiaphora" (neither commanded, nor forbidden, by God). The *Concordia Triglotta* provides a succinct description of the issue: "May Lutherans, under conditions such as prevailed during the Interim, when the Romanists on pain of persecution and violence demanded the reinstitution of abolished papal ceremonies, even if the ceremonies in question be truly indifferent in themselves, submit with a good conscience, that is to say, without denying the truth and Christian liberty, without sanctioning the errors of Romanism, and without giving offence either to the enemies or to the friends of the Lutheran Church, especially its weak members? This was affirmed by the Interimists and denied by their opponents." *Concordia Triglotta*, 108.

[32] Stalmann, xix.

1553, but it is difficult to reconcile the dates. He is known to have written several musical compositions, and he may have been a music teacher, but ultimately he worked as a granary steward.

It was to his son's house that Johann Walter returned in 1554. He had retired from Moritz' *Hofkapelle* with a pension of sixty guilders per year. His successor was Matthaeus Le Maistre, from the Netherlands. One of Walter's reasons for leaving Dresden (although it is difficult to explain why he accepted the position in the first place) may have been his displeasure with Moritz, who is often considered to be a traitor to the Lutherans. Walter dedicated his 1557 collection of Magnificats to the son of John the Steadfast, the "born elector (Geborenen Kurfürsten)."[33]

Johann Walter died sometime before 24 April 1570. He was buried at the Church of the Holy Spirit in Torgau. His gravestone, which bore the simple inscription "Natus 1496, Denatus 1570" was destroyed by Napoleon in 1811 when he turned the church and cemetery into a fort. Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515–1586) evidently painted a portrait of Walter in 1548. It was in the possession of a relative of Walter in 1750, and hung in the music room of the Torgau secondary school as late as the nineteenth century. It was stolen at the beginning of the twentieth century by a student and sold in America. It last appeared at an art auction in America around 1934/35. It has not been seen since.[34]

Walter's wife died a year after him on 23 May 1571. Their only child, Johann Walter, Jr., died on 8 November 1578. Descendants of Walter's, from the children of Johann and Elizabeth, are known to have lived as late as the eighteenth century.

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[33] Warkentin, 89.

[34] In 1971, Erich Siptitz made a comprehensive record of his inquiries about the painting. He was unable to locate it, but provided the above information to Walter Blankenburg. See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 121–122.

CHAPTER TWO

MUSIC IN THE WRITINGS OF THE CHURCH

Luther on Music

The writings of Martin Luther include a number of references to music. This is hardly surprising, as the Reformation involved liturgical reform, and the Liturgy itself involved a large amount of music. What is interesting in Luther's writings about music is his high acclaim for music as an aesthetic device, a tool not only for proclaiming the gospel but also for moving the soul. Luther, himself an accomplished musician, had high praise for those who could use music to these ends, and yet cautioned against the use of music to serve worldly passions. His comments both on music and Johann Walter serve as an introduction to the musical reforms of the Lutheran Church in the sixteenth century.

In Praise of Music

Luther's praise for the art of music extends not only to its intrinsic beauty, but also to its ability to affect the soul. It follows that his understanding of music as an aesthetic device would therefore have implications on the use of music in Divine Service.

Music, next to theology, is best used not only for instruction in the faith but also to comfort the souls of the troubled:

> We can mention only one point (which experience confirms), namely, that next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise. She is a mistress and governess of those human emotions—to pass over the animals—which as masters govern men or more often overwhelm them. No greater commendation than this can be found—at least not by us. For whether you wish to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate—and who could number all these masters of the human heart, namely, the emotions, inclinations, and affections that impel men to evil or good?—what more effective means than music could you find?[1]

[1] Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538), Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: American Edition*, Vol. 53, "Liturgy and Hymns," ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, trans. by Paul Zeller Strodach and rev. by Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 323 [hereafter identified as *LW*].

As to the intrinsic beauty of music, Luther makes the following comment:

> However, when man's natural musical ability is whetted and polished to the extent that it becomes an art, then do we note with great surprise the great and perfect wisdom of God in music, which is, after all, His product and His gift; we marvel when we hear music in which one voice sings a simple melody, while three, four, or five other voices play and trip [joyfully] around the voice that sings its simple melody and adorn this simple melody wonderfully with artistic musical effects, thus reminding us of a heavenly dance, where all meet in a spirit of friendliness, caress and embrace....[2]

It should be noted here that Luther appears to be speaking of a refined music, a quality of music which provides "artistic musical effects" and can be contrasted with music of an inferior quality. This he does more directly in the following statement: "The wicked gut-scrapers and fiddlers serve the purpose of enabling us to see and hear what a fine and wholesome art music really is; for white is more clearly recognized when it is contrasted with black."[3]

In his many references to the affect of music on the human soul, Luther usually mentions three central points: a) music makes people happy; b) music drives away the devil; and c) music was used by the Old Testament church in a godly manner. This last point was a defence against those (such as Karlstadt and Calvin) who wanted to excise music from Divine Service altogether. The following quotations, written on three separate occasions, each include all three points:

> There are, without doubt, in the human heart many seed grains of precious virtue which are stirred up by music. All those with whom this is not the case I regard as stupid blockheads and senseless stones. For we know that to the devils music is something altogether hateful and unbearable. I am not ashamed to confess publicly that next to theology there is no art which is the equal of music, for she alone, after theology, can do what otherwise only theology can accomplish, namely, quiet and cheer up the soul of a man, which is clear evidence that the devil, the originator of depressing worries and troubled thoughts, flees from the voice of music just as he flees from the words of theology. For this very reason the prophets cultivated no art so much as music in that they attached their theology not to geometry, nor to arithmetic, nor to astronomy, but to music, speaking the truth through psalms and hymns.[4]

> He who despises music, as do all the fanatics, does not please me. For music is a gift and largess of God, not a gift of men. Music drives away the devil and makes people happy; it induces one to forget all wrath, unchastity, arrogance, and

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[2] Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946): 83.

[3] Ibid., 91–92.

[4] Ibid., 84.

other vices. After theology I accord to music the highest place and the greatest honor. We note that David and all the saints used verse, rhymes, and songs to express their godly thoughts; *quia pacis tempore regnat musica*—for music reigns in days of peace.[5]

One of the most beautiful and most precious gifts of God is music. Satan is very hostile to it, since it casts out many scruples and evil thoughts. The devil does not remain near it, for music is one of the finest of all the arts. Its notes instil life into its texts. Music drives away the spirit of sadness, as may be seen from the life of king Saul.[6]

The third quotation includes a phrase about which Luther had specific concerns: "Its notes instil life into its texts." He clarifies his thoughts on the manner in which music may enhance its text when writing about 2 Samuel 23:1:

Since it proclaims and sings of the Messiah, the Book of Psalms is for such hearts a sweet, comforting, and lovely song; this is the case even when one speaks or recites the mere word and does not employ the aid of music. Nevertheless, music and notes, which are wonderful gifts and creations of God, do help gain a better understanding of the text, especially when sung by a congregation and when sung earnestly.[7]

Luther's desire for suitable music to be sung by the congregation was to have a profound effect on the practices of Divine Service:

I desire also that we have more songs which might be sung in the vernacular of the people, and which the people might sing during the celebration of the Mass after the chanting (in Latin) of the Gradual, the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei. For who doubts that these liturgical parts, which today only the choir sings and with which it responds to the bishop who pronounces the benediction, were at one time sung by all the people? In fact, the singing of these songs may be arranged by the bishop so that they are sung either immediately after the Latin chants have been sung, or interchangeably, in Latin one day (Sunday), in the vernacular the other. Finally the entire Mass will then be sung in the vernacular of the people. But we need poets; as yet we have none who are able to prepare for us pious and spiritual songs (as St. Paul calls them) which deserve being used in the church of God.[8]

Not only is music capable of enhancing a text, but it is capable of detracting from it as well. Luther had strong opinions about the suitability of certain melodies for their texts, especially when it came to settings of the German language:

Although I am willing to permit the translating of Latin texts of choral and vocal music into the vernacular with the retention of the original notes and musical settings, I am nevertheless of the opinion that the result sounds neither proper nor

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[5] Ibid., 88.

[6] Ibid., 91–92.

[7] Ibid., 92.

[8] Ibid., 94. Parentheses inserted by Buszin.

> correct; the text, the notes, the accents, the tune, and likewise the entire outward expression must be genuine outgrowths of the original text and its spirit; otherwise, everything is nothing more than apish imitation.[9]

Luther's encouragement of more congregational singing in the vernacular (which was not a novel phenomenon in the Roman church)[10] has often been misconstrued as an attempt to remove Latin altogether from Divine Service. Luther is clear on this matter:

> For I in no wise desire that the Latin language be dropped entirely from our services of worship; I say this in the interest of our youth. If it were possible for me to do so, and if the Greek and Hebrew languages were used as commonly among us as is the Latin language and were also used in as much fine music as is Latin, I would urge that we change off and conduct Mass and sing and read from the Scriptures in all four languages, one Sunday in German, the next in Latin, the third in Greek, the fourth in Hebrew.[11]

Luther wanted to see the youth better educated in the Biblical languages in order to enhance their understanding of Scripture, rather than witness the demise of Latin, which was so commonly used at the time.

Luther on Secular Music

In comparison to his writings in praise of music in general, Luther wrote very little directly about secular music. When he did, it was usually a warning against the improper use of music. Music was to be used especially in the training of young people, in order to keep them from undesirable music, as is made clear in Luther's preface to Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* (1524):

> The music is arranged in four parts. I desire this particularly in the interest of the young people, who should and must receive an education in music as well as in the other arts if we are to wean them away from carnal and lascivious songs and interest them in what is good and wholesome. Only thus will they learn, as they should, to love and appreciate what is intrinsically good.[12]

Luther later elaborates on why such "carnal" music is to be avoided:

> Take special care to shun perverted minds who prostitute this lovely gift of nature and of art with their erotic rantings; and be quite assured that none but the devil goads them on to defy their very nature which would and should praise God its maker with this gift, so that these bastards purloin the gift of God and use it to worship the foe of God, the enemy of nature and of this lovely art.[13]

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[9] Ibid, 95.

[10] *LW* 53:xvii.

[11] Buszin, "Luther on Music," 94.

[12] Ibid., 88.

[13] Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538), *LW* 53:324.

But it is never clear from his writing just what kind of secular music is to be avoided. Some secular music, such as German folk-songs, was available to be used as tunes for hymn-settings. Several of Walter's hymns in the *Gesangbücher* have their melodic origins in *Volkslieder*. In this context, it is useful to recall Luther's famous complaint, "Why is it that for the secular phases of life [*carnalibus*] we have so many fine poems and such fine songs while for spiritual matters we have such poor and cold stuff?"[14] It is unclear whether Luther felt that replacing the secular texts in these "fine songs" with more suitable words would be desirable, or whether in some cases the carnal associations could not be overwritten.

Luther on Walter and Other Composers

Luther's praise of music often extends to the composers who create such beauty. His criticisms of those who do not meet his standards are also of interest, indicating his impatience with what he perceived to be low quality or his frustration with those who misunderstood the proper place and use of music in Divine Liturgy.

Luther had a high regard for certain composers, three of which he mentions in a "Table Talk" on New Year's Day, 1537: "Alas, what fine musicians have died within the last ten years: Josquin [1521], Pierre de la Rue [1518], Finck [1527], and many other excellent men. The world is unworthy of her learned men."[15] Josquin held a special place in Luther's esteem, receiving much praise. He states: "Josquin is a master of the notes, which must express what he desires; on the other hand, other choral composers must do what the notes dictate;"[16] and

> God has His Gospel preached also through the medium of music; this may be seen from the compositions of Josquin, all of whose works are cheerful, gentle, mild, and lovely; they flow and move along and are neither forced nor coerced and bound by rigid and stringent rules, but, on the contrary, are like the song of the finch.[17]

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[14] Buszin, "Luther on Music," 89. This is the closest that Luther comes to the purported: "Why should the Devil have all the best tunes?", which has never been documented. Musicologists may have found reason to consider the anecdote as valid based on a paraphrase in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 105: "According to what is undoubtedly his most oft-quoted remark concerning music, Luther could not see why the devil should have all the best tunes."

[15] Ibid., 91.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

About Ludwig Senfl (ca. 1486–1542/3) Luther says: "I would not be able to compose such a motet, even if I would tear myself to pieces in the attempt, just as he would not be able to preach as I can. Hence the gifts of God are of many kinds and sorts, just as there are many different members in one body."[18]

Luther also makes some comments in the direction of Johann Walter. When John the Steadfast succeeded Frederick the Wise in 1525 and determined to disband the *Hofkapelle*, Luther wrote the following in a letter dated 20 June 1526:

> ... Finally, my most gracious Lord, I request that Your Electoral Grace will not permit the *Kantorei* to pass out of existence, especially since those who are at present its members have been trained for such work; in addition, the art [of music] is worthy of being supported by Princes and Lords, much more so than many other endeavors and enterprises for which there is not nearly so much need ... The goods and possessions belonging to the monasteries could well be used to take care of these people. God would derive pleasure from such a transfer.[19]

When visiting the churches in Torgau in 1534, Luther rejoices "... because God Almighty has graciously blessed this city of Torgau above many others with an illustrious *Kantorei* and with glorious music."[20]

Luther sent his sixteen-year-old son Hans to study in Torgau in 1542. He wrote a letter to the superintendent of the Torgau school, Marcus Crodel, which he closes: "Farewell in the Lord! Wish Johann Walther well for me and ask him to provide my son with instruction in music. I indeed must develop theologians, but I desire that also grammarians and musicians be trained among our people."[21]

Walter on Music

The writings of Johann Walter (1496–1570) understandably differ from those of Luther in that a greater emphasis is placed on music and music theory. He does, however, share the same appreciation of the intrinsic beauty of music, its ability to move the human soul, and its potential for misuse. Walter's comments on his work with Luther also provide insight into the musical ability of the reformer.

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[18] Ibid., 85.

[19] Ibid., 86.

[20] Ibid., 93.

[21] Ibid.

In Praise of Music

Walter's praise of music is firmly grounded in the music theory of his time. For him polyphonic music is beautiful, especially vocal polyphony, and it will exist into eternity. Music, on an equal footing with theology, moves the human heart and aids the memory.

Walter describes the *ars* of music as divided into two equal parts: *Musica theoretica* and *Musica practica*. *Musica practica* is then further divided into *Musica choralis* and *Musica figuralis*. He describes his categories eloquently in the fourth strophe of his *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica* (1564):

> One calls me Musica,
> Reasoned art includes my Practica,
> Astute my Theoretica,
> Internally Arithmetica,
> Choral and Figural song
> From me has art, measure, number and sound.[22]

As noted by Blankenburg, it is remarkable that Walter would consider *Musica practica* and *Musica theoretica* to be equals, as theorists generally considered musical theory to have precedence over its practical use, an opinion dating back to the late Middle Ages, and held during Walter's lifetime by Adam of Fulda (ca. 1445–1505).[23] A more detailed study of music theory during Walter's lifetime appears in Chapter Four.

Walter uses language similar to Luther's when he describes the beauty of polyphonic music:

> Music is a wound garland
> And similarly a heavenly dance:
> Sweetly every part sings
> In joy one to the others springs,
> Harmony and affection
> Hug for joy and keep measure.
>
> There is good news in this dance:
> Chorale with fugue is the best.
> One chases the other, courteously refined,
> Soon again looking after and coming into line.
> And all parts love God,
> With joy given by the art.

[22] "Man nennt mich die Musica, / Verstand Kunst hat mein Practica, / Scharfsinnig mein Theorica, / Innerlich Arithmetica, / Choral- und Figuralgesang / Aus mir hat Kunst, Maß, Zahl und Klang." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 369. All translations of Blankenburg are mine.

[23] Ibid.

I take great pleasure in a Cantorei
And well-intentioned symphony;
Beautifully, happily they stand together,
In sound and tone marvelously ready to go.
Cantors praise the Word of God,
Here and there, by the Grace of God.[24]

Walter also places emphasis on the need to foster music, in defiance of those who would see its demise (such as the Papists).[25]

Walter's praise of music extends in some detail to the human voice, extolling its ability to sing in different octaves, fast and slow, loud and soft, and with many variant sounds.[26] While praising the earthly skill of the human voice, Walter is always careful to indicate that all music is a gift from God. His understanding of just when this gift took place developed over time from a gift given to Jubal after the Fall,[27] through a gift bestowed on some creatures, and finally to a gift instilled in all creation.[28] This final viewpoint is the one shared by Luther. Both agree that the human voice is the epitome of musical talent given by God.

Walter takes his admiration for the human voice one step further to point out that vocal music is the only art that will continue to exist in heaven. He writes:

All the chosen are intended
To become a choir eternally unended.
Always in joy blissfully
Singing God's praise eternally.[29]

While the idea of a heavenly choir singing praise to God is certainly not new, Blankenburg

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[24] Music ist ein gewunden Kranz / Und gleich ein himmelischer Tanz: / Süßiglich jede Stimme singt, / In Freuden zu der andern springt, / Concordia und Caritas / Aus Freud sich herzen, halten Maß. / An diesem Tanz sich hören läßt: / Choral mit Figural ist das best. / Jagt eins das ander artig fein, / Schwenkt sich und kümmt bald wieder ein. / Und alle Stimmen loben Gott / Mit Freud, der die Kunst geben hat. / Mich hoch erfreut ein Cantorei / Und wohlbestimmte Symphonei. / Schön, lustig sie zusammen stehn, / Im Schall und Klang gar herrlich gehn. / Cantores loben Gottes Wort / Aus Gottes Gabe, hie und dort." Ibid., 380–1.

[25] Ibid., 383–4. The "Papists" to whom Walter refers are those theologians who hold that the seat of Peter in Rome—that is, of the pope—is the final authority on doctrine in the church.

[26] Ibid., 371–2.

[27] "So hat Gott bald bey Adams zeit / Die Musica zur lust and freidt / Dem Jubal kunstlich offenbart, / Der hat der Geiger pfeiffer art." Ibid., 370.

[28] Ibid., 371.

[29] "Alle Auserwählten gemein / Cantores werden ewig sein. / Immer in Freuden seliglich / singen, Gott loben ewiglich." Ibid., 383.

contends that "Walter's deliberate eschatological musical understanding led to the idea of the heavenly choir. This idea in all probability originated with him, and has been taken up time and again throughout the history of evangelical Church music, and frequently also portrayed pictorially."[30]

Walter's high praise for the art of music causes him to equate it with theology, something which Luther was careful not to do. Luther always placed music "next to the Word of God," "next to theology," or "after theology."[31] Walter considers them to be like "sisters."[32] He even goes beyond this to indicate that music is both hidden in theology and shrouded by it, using terminology similar to the theological description of how a Christian is covered in Christ's righteousness:

> By God were [Music] and theology
> Given here concurrently.
> God covered music finely,
> Hidden in Theology.[33]

His overall understanding of the entwined nature of music and theology can be found in his preface to his *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* (1538):

> Music, because of its character, and because of its own rich inheritance, belongs to sacred theology; yes, it is so entwined and so sealed up with theology that anyone who desires, studies, and learns theology, must also take up music with it, though he may not see, feel or understand it.[34]

In spite of his differences with Luther regarding the place of music relative to theology, Walter seems to agree with him on the ability of music to move the human soul to praise God and rejoice the heart against sorrows:

> And move the heart to high delight
> In praising God both day and night—

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[30] "Walters betont eschatologisches Musikverstandnis hat zu der—mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit auf ihn zurückgehenden—Vorstellung von der Himmelskantorei geführt, die hernach in der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik immer wieder aufgegriffen und häufig auch bildlich dargestellt worden ist." Ibid., 382. Blankenburg gives as an example Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalischen Exequien*, which includes the term "Himmelskantorei."

[31] Quoted in the first two pages of this chapter. Luther uses the Latin term "post" and the German terms "nach" and "nächst."

[32] "Sie sind jnn Freundschafft nahe verwandt / das sie für schwestern wern erkandt" and "Music-Kunst ist in hohem Stand / Und der Theologie verwandt. / Schwestern sind sie billig genannt, / In Gottes Wort solchs wird erkannt." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 377.

[33] "Sie ist mit der Theologie / zugleich von gott gegeben hie. / Gott hat die Music fein bedeckt / In der Theologie versteckt." Ibid., 378.

[34] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 52.

This is the weightiest reason why
God music did at once supply.
Then too, since sin acquired at birth
Would bring to Adam's seed on earth
Much woe and—earth itself now spoiled—
Small joy in all for which they toiled,
As antidote against that blight,
To keep man's life from wilting quite,
And also to rejoice the heart,
God soon supplied sweet music's art:[35]

Not only does music move men to praise God, it has the power to make foul flesh worthy.[36] This in turn can alleviate human need, as a medicine against sorrow:

One feels and grasps that music is
Made by God as a medicine:
Pain, misfortune and melancholy
In the art of music and gaiety
Are alleviated, along with sorrow,
In order to praise God in eternity.

The Art of Music has a great power,
Unfathomably strong and animate;
Sweetness, joy and kindness
Lie hidden in its sound.[37]

Music also has the ability to keep the Word of God fresh in human memory:

That such unmerited free grace
(Which God from love for all our race
Had promised in his Word) might be
Kept fresh in human memory
And move the heart to high delight
In praising God both day and night—
This is the weightiest reason why
God music did at once supply.[38]

While these examples demonstrate Walter's praise for music, he also joins Luther in warning against the improper use of music. This can be seen more clearly in Walter's comments about secular music.

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[35] Schalk, 15. See Appendix D for the complete text of this poem.

[36] "...und das faule trege fleisch zu Gottes lob und dienst / frölich und wacker wird." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 379.

[37] "Man spürt und greift, daß Music sei / Von Gott gemacht zur Arzenei: / Schmerz, Unfall und Schwermütigkeit / In Music-Kunst und Fröhlichkeit / Czu lindern alle Traurigkeit, / Auch Gott zu Lob in Ewigkeit. / Music-Kunst hat ein große Kraft, / Unerforschliche Stärk und Saft; / Süßigkeit, Lust und Freundlichkeit / In ihrem Klang verborgen leit." Ibid.

[38] Schalk, 15.

Walter on Secular Music

Walter refers directly to the sacred-secular dichotomy in a couplet which appears before his setting of *Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost*:

> This little song, while it appears to be secular,
> Is nevertheless meant as sacred.[39]

It is clear from the other couplets which accompany the musical setting that Walter felt a need to indicate that the somewhat ambiguous text is indeed about Christ, and is not a secular love poem. This would confirm Blankenburg's theory that the terms sacred and secular were only used by Walter and Luther to differentiate between texts, not musical settings.[40]

Nevertheless, Walter had some of the same concerns as Luther about the misuse of music. A motto of Walter appears in the Torgau manuscripts:

> If you are ignorant of Christ and overcome Arion by means of song,
> No glory is destined to the muses from you.[41]

Blankenburg expands on its meaning: "No music has worth if it does not fulfil its divine destiny—even if it were skillful in the sense that it represents the order of Creation through the muses."[42]

Perhaps Walter's most forceful warning against the abuses of music (and the one most closely aligned with Luther) is the following:

> For that reason music is not an art, as some believe, which may be used only to entice carnal desires, pleasures and frivolity, just as some people use all gifts of God for carnal and foolish purposes, but it is an art [that] has been given us for the purpose of praising and glorifying God's grace and mercy, that through it the spirit may be made cheerful in God and also that through it men's lazy and indolent flesh may be made happy and alert, ready and willing to praise and serve God.[43]

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[39] "Dies Liedlein, ob's wohl weltlich scheint, / wird alles geistlich doch gemeint." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 374. *SW* 6:71.

[40] "Das Gegensatzpaar geistlich-weltlich war Walter freilich geläufig, jedoch nicht als Kennzeichnung verschiedener musikalischer Stile und Ausdrucksformen, sondern im Hinblick auf gute und schlechte Texte." See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 373.

[41] "Si nescis Christum et vincis Ariona cantu / Devetur musis gloria nulla tuis." Ibid., 372.

[42] "Keine Musik ist etwas wert—und sei sie auch kunstgerecht im Sinne der durch die Musen repräsentierten Schöpfungsordnung—, wenn sie nicht ihre göttliche Bestimmung erfüllt." Ibid.

[43] Buszin, "Johann Walter," 52.

Walter appears to have less to say than Luther about the misuse of music and the style of music suitable for Divine Service, but his continued use of Luther's prefaces to introduce his published works indicates a certain tacit agreement.

Walter on Luther

Michael Praetorius includes a *Verba des alten Johan Walters* in his *Syntagma musicum* I, published in Wittenberg in 1614. Because it is a unique document and provides a glimpse into the working relationship between Luther and Walter, it is worth quoting in full here. According to Praetorius, Walter said:

> The reasons why I have corrected the chorale song (which is pure in text, but very wrong in the notes) are these:
> 1. In the first place I am moved to it because our ancestors before our time, dear Christians and saints, have written beautiful, excellent, gifted, artistic, Latin and German hymns drawn from the writings of the prophets, and apostles, which they made to honor Christ, and (to be) sung in the congregation to praise God; in which songs one feels, and out of the happy melodies, clearly sees the great strangeness and the ardour of their spirit, concerning the godly, unsearchable, high work of the coming of Christ as man and our redemption. I must mention a number of these, namely:
>
> Verbum Caro factum est
> Puer natus est nobis
> Grates nunc omnes reddamus Domino Deo
> Natus ante secula Dei Filius
> A solis ortus cardine
> Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium
> Dies est laetitiae
> Ein Kindlein so loebelich
> Illuminare Hierusalem
>
> <u>Those concerning the joyful resurrection of Christ:</u>
>
> Christus resurgens
> Victimae Paschali laudes
> Salve festa dies
> Resurrexit Dominus
> Ad Coenam Agni providi
> Pax vobis ego sum, Halleluia
> Christ ist erstanden
>
> <u>Concerning Christ's Ascension:</u>
>
> Ascendo ad patrem
> Summi triumphum regies
> Ite in urbem universum
> Christ fuhr gen Himmel

Concerning the Holy Spirit:

Apparuerunt Apostolis
Veni sancte Spiritus, et emitee coelitus
Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia
Veni Creator Spiritus
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist

Concerning the Holy Trinity:

Summa Trinitati
Benedicta semper sit Trinitas
O adoranda Trinitas
O veneranda Unitas
O lux beata Trinitas

And there are many more such hymns; concerning which glorious hymns all Christians must know that they contain a high rich understanding of Holy Scripture. And if they are sung with devotion and attention, they rouse the hearts of men powerfully toward God and excite to His praise.

And although we find people, who praise and regard as good, only the old German Christian hymns, and call the Latin songs popish, such means little to me. If the for-mentioned Latin songs for this reason be popish, because thay are sung by the Papists in their monasteries, so the old German hymns must also be called popist; the Papists sing them in their churches the same as we.

2. In the second place, I have God to praise and glorify, and the dear Gospel of Christ to honor, that He let me be able to do such works upon the requests and solicitations of a few devout Christians, who did not wish the talent received from God hidden.

3. In the third place, I know and truly witness that the holy man of God, Luther, who is prophet and apostle to the German nation, had great pleasure in the *Musica*, in the *Choral* and *Figural* singing, with whom I have sung many precious hours, and have oft times seen how the dear man was so joyful and happy from music, that he could not become tired, or even get enough of singing, and knew how to speak so gloriously about *Musica.* For forty years ago, when he wished to prepare the German mass in Wittenberg, he had, through his writing to the elector of Saxony and Prince Johann of highly honored memory, asked his Elector's Grace for the elderly singing master, the honored Conrad Rupsch, and me to Wittenberg for awhile. At that time he held discussion with us about the Choral notation and nature of the eight modes, and finally of himself appropriated the eighth tone for the Epistle and aranged the sixth tone for the Gospel. Since St. Paul is a very serious-minded apostle, we shall use the eighth tone for the epistle. Also, he himself wrote the notes for the Epistles, Gospels, and also the words of institution of the true body and blood of Christ, sang it for me, and wanted my true thoughts concerning it. He detained me for three weeks in Wittenberg to write the *Choral Noten* for several Gospels and Epistles in orderly fashion, until the first German Mass was sung in the parish church, which I had to listen to, and take a copy of the same with me to Torgau, and deliver it to the highly esteemed Elector, His Grace, by command of the great Dr. Luther.

So he ordered also the vesper, so that the occasion would come very frequently

> for the school children and young people again to be prepared with short pure choral singing. In like manner, the poor school children, as they run after bread, should sing Latin songs, antiphons and responses before the doors at an opportune time.
>
> Having no choice, the children sing nothing but German songs before the doors. Therefore, they are not to be praised and do not do right, who throw out of the church all the Latin Christian songs, letting themselves think that it is not evangelical or Lutheran, if they should sing or hear a Latin choral song in the church. Again, it is also wrong where one sings nothing but Latin songs for the congregation, from which the general people will not be bettered. For that reason, the German, spiritual, pure, old Lutheran hymns and Psalms are most needed in the average homes, but the Latin is to be used by the young and by the learned.[44]

From this text we see that Walter praised Luther as highly as Luther praised Walter. Walter's primary concern here is the continued use of artful hymns, both Latin and German. The translation of the Latin texts and the setting of the resulting German texts was to become a central point in the reforms of the Liturgy, and would ultimately lead to the demise of the Latin Mass. This, as we have seen, was not Luther's intent.

Other Reformation Writings on Music

Music did not figure as prominently in the writings of other Reformation scholars as it did in those of Luther. Nevertheless, music was sometimes discussed during debates over the reform of the Liturgy and worship. These debates were to produce opinions which varied radically, from moderate continued use of existing musical forms, to the removal of music altogether. Two Wittenberg scholars, both well aquainted with Luther, demonstrate both the former and the latter views: Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541).

Philip Melanchthon[45]

Melanchthon, grandnephew of the famous humanist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), was being shaped for his academic career by his granduncle from an early age. It was Reuchlin who ultimately secured Melanchthon's position as professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg in the autumn of 1518. The program of studies at

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[44] Quoted in Warkentin, 67–70.

[45] This section uses information from Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation*, 275–282; and, Hans-Christian Müller, "Melanchthon" in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980) 12:80.

the university was at that time being reformed at the behest of Luther, in an attempt to move away from scholasticism toward humanism. The latter school of thought was more amenable to Luther's desire to use Scriptural sources as the final authority on doctrine. Melanchthon soon won the respect of the faculty, and gradually became Luther's close friend, not to mention an important figure in the Reformation picture.

Melanchthon's approach to music, as in many other areas, was largely pedagogical.[46] It was his concern for the education of the youth that caused him to put so much effort into the regulations for education in Saxony (1528). Music was also included in the school regulations, and was to be studied one hour every day. "Melanchthon considered music to be the 'worthy practice of piety,' an aid 'to the strengthening of faith,' and even a means to the understanding of God."[47] He also felt, as did Walter, that music could be an aid to memory. Thus, music could be a tool for the recording and dissemination of divine truths.[48]

In spite of his esteem for music, Melanchthon did not include music in the instruction books he wrote for the schools of Saxony. His opinions about music come down to us from the various prefaces he wrote to musical editions.[49] Some of his poetry was set to music, such as the Latin hymn *Vespera iam venit*. He may have made an influence in the musical community through his writings on rhetoric, but he certainly had an effect on the students whom he taught directly. These included such musicians as Adrian Petit Coclico, Sixt Dietrich, Georg Forster and Lucas Lossius.

Perhaps most notable was Melanchthon's association with Johann Walter. Walter's son studied with Melanchthon in Wittenberg. Melanchthon came to Walter's

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[46] Melanchthon would come to be known as the *praeceptor germaniae* (teacher of Germany).

[47] Müller, 80.

[48] "Ausgehend von der Erkenntnis, daß die Musik Schöpfungswerk sei, kommt Melanchthon zu ihrer spezifischen Eignung und damit zur Erkenntnis ihrer göttlichen Bestimmung für den Gottesdienst. Hierbei hebt er bei der Verbindung von Wort Gottes und Gesang die Wirkung der Musik auf das Gedächtnis, das heißt ihre Einprägekraft, neben der auf das menschliche Herz besonders hervor, so daß die Musik als ein hervorragendes Mittel auf dem Wege zum Erfassen der göttlichen Wahrheit verstanden wird." See Walter Blankenburg, "Melanchthon," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1949–1986) 9:2–4.

[49] Two publications by Georg Rhau: *Selectae harmoniae* (1538) and *Officia de Nativitate* (1545); as well as Johann Reuschlin's *Zehn deutsche Psalmen Davids* (1552) and Lossius' cantional, *Psalmodia: hoc est, cantia sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta* (1553).

defense when John the Steadfast was about to dismantle the *Hofkapelle*. He wrote a letter on 20 June 1526, the same day on which Luther sent his own letter to the Elector on the same matter:

> Melanchthon sent a letter to John the Steadfast, in which he requested the elector not put a man like Walther out of work, 'since,' according to Melanchthon, 'he has composed songs that are sung a great deal at present. We have need of such people, not only in order that the good music that has been used might not be buried, but also that new and better music be written. I consider retaining the services of such people a good work from which God derives pleasure. Thus far have people in many places maintained music-groups for unnecessary pomp and other unbecoming purposes. Why should the noble art of music not remain active now for God's sake, since it is used for the service and glory of God.'[50]

Perhaps it was just as well that the choir was moved from the court to the church in spite of Melanchthon's and Luther's pleas.

Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt[51]

Karlstadt, unlike Melanchthon, was trained mostly in the scholastic tradition. When he first came upon Luther and other humanists at the University of Wittenberg, he had been a follower of scholasticism for ten years. After a heated debate with Luther in 1516, where Luther insisted that the scholastics had misunderstood both Scripture and Augustine, Karlstadt purchased an edition of Augustine to see for himself. He was "amazed, speechless and angry" at what he found.[52] His realization that he had been mislead by scholasticism caused him to recapitulate completely. He and Luther became friends.

Karlstadt's conversion was so dramatic that in 1518 he defended Luther's ninety-five theses against Johann Eck. Both Luther and Karlstadt were summoned to Leipzig to defend their positions in 1519, and both were then threatened with excommunication from the Roman Chruch.

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[50] Buszin, "Luther on Music," 86.

[51] This section was compiled from Bainton, *Here I Stand*; Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation*, and *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*; Calvin Augustine Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: The Emergence of Lay Protestantism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Ronald J. Sider, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt: The Development of His Thought, 1517–1525*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 11, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); and, Ulrich Bubenheimer, "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt," trans. Michael G. Baylor, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* 1:178–180.

[52] Sider, 2.

While Luther was in exile in the Wartburg castle, Karlstadt began to enact radical reforms in Wittenberg. On 25 December 1521, he celebrated an evangelical Mass in which he wore no vestments, did not elevate the host, expunged the canon and all sacrificial elements, and shouted the words of institution in German (rather than whispering them in Latin, as was the custom of the Roman Church). After he published *On the Removal of Images*, an iconoclastic riot led by Gabriel Zwilling (d. 1558) resulted in zealous believers attacking and destroying some of the icons of the Church. Luther returned from the Wartburg to restore order. Karlstadt was removed to a parish in Orlamünde, where he continued to pursue radical reforms. In 1524, he was expelled by the regional authorities, and because of the Peasants' War in Rothenburg in 1525, he had to flee to Frankfurt in June 1525. Luther, who had been married in Wittenberg on 13 June 1525, and celebrated the wedding on the 27th, on that day secretly invited Karlstadt into his home to protect him. Karlstadt was later to find refuge in Switzerland.

Although written early in Karlstadt's life as a reformer, and while under the influence of Luther, his collection of theses entitled *De cantu Gregoriano Disputatio* (26 April 1517) provide some insight into his iconoclastic tendencies, especially with regard to music. Victor H. Mattfeld gives the following summary of some of Karlstadt's theses:

> The so-called Gregorian chant removes the spirit from God (Thesis 7), for the thought of the singer is concerned more with the musical notes than with the spirit of the words (Thesis 8). Gregorian chant in its present form, as well as the drone of the organ pipes, are only tones, nothing more, and to these apply Christ's words, 'They honor Me with their lips but their heart is far from Me' (Theses 14 and 15). A single prayer to the Lord would be far more salutary than a thousand prattlings of the entire Psalter (Thesis 33).
>
> Not only Gregorian chant but also polyphonic and instrumental music as well was attacked: Mensural song is an unconditional impediment to devotion and therefore to be proscribed from the worship service (Thesis 16). Particularly offensive is the sound of the organ during the communion for it rouses worldly thoughts and removes attention from meditation upon Christ's suffering and death (Theses 19 and 20). It would do more good to give one penny to the poor than to spend a thousand gulden of gold on organists and blubberers (*illulatoribus*).
>
> Two further theses are significant in that they reflect attitudes quite prevalent in the liturgical scene: The Greek may sing his praises and pray in Greek, the African in African, the German in German (Thesis 36). If you desire, however, that song shall remain in the service, let it be a one-voiced singing, so that there will be one God, one Baptism, one faith, and one song (Thesis 53).[53]

[53] Victor H. Mattfeld, *Georg Rhaw's Publications for Vespers*, Musicological Studies 11 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966), 54–55, n.2. The Latin text of the theses can be found in Herman Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, 2nd. ed. (Niewkoop: B. de Graff, 1968) 1:492–3.

These theses are very much in contrast with both Luther's and Walter's appreciation of the beauty of both the Latin chants and polyphonic music. And Luther's recommendation that money be taken from the monasteries to support musicians is quite different from Karlstadt's idea that it is all wasted on "blubberers." Clearly, although Luther and Karlstadt may have agreed in some areas for a short time after these theses were written, Karlstadt was unwilling to see music as anything other than a distraction to worship. Yet Luther and Karlstadt remained close even until after the abolition of images. The final break came with Karlstadt's denial of the real presence in the sacrament, which aligned him with reformed theologians like John Calvin (1509–64) and Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531).

CHAPTER THREE

THE LITURGY OF THE EARLY LUTHERAN CHURCH

The reforms that Luther began to put into effect in Wittenberg at the beginning of the sixteenth century were to have a profound effect on both the Liturgy and music of the Lutheran service for years to come. While much has been written regarding Luther's liturgical reforms and the subsequent increased use of the vernacular in both Liturgy and hymns, comparatively little attention has been paid to the music of the Liturgy.[1] This is especially true of studies in the English language.[2]

While a comprehensive survey of the music of the Liturgies in use at the time of Luther and Walter is beyond the scope of this study, the reforms begun by Luther with the musical advice of Walter are important enough to warrant an overview here.

Luther's Reform of the Liturgy

Luther included comments on the necessity of reform of the Liturgy as early as September 1520, in his *De captivitate babylonica.* While this tract made clear Luther's denouncement of abuses, no detailed suggestions were made as to reforms in practice. These would come later with three important works: *Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne* (Concerning the Order of Public Worship), 1523; *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Vittenbergensis* (An Order of Mass and Communion for the

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[1] Even this body of scholarship, however, suffers from certain limitations. Bryan Spinks points out that almost all of the studies refer to Yngve Brilioth's *Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Hebert (London: S.P.C.K., 1930). This study was an excercise in motif-research, and hardly provided an overall picture of Luther's reforms. It was particularly negative toward Luther, painting him as clumsy, unclear and generally careless in matters of *adiaphora.* Spinks' *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and his Reform of The Canon of The Mass* (Bramcote Notts., Nottingham: Grove Books, 1982) does much to improve the image of Luther in these matters.

[2] Some German studies include: Friedrich Gebhardt, "Die musikalischen Grundlagen zu Luthers Deutscher Messe," *Luther-Jahrbuch* 10 (1928): 56–169; and Christhard Mahrenholz, "Zur musikalischen Gestaltung von Luthers Gottesdienstreform" *Musicologica et Liturgica* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1960), 154–168.

Church at Wittenberg), 1523; and, *Deudsche Messe vnd ordnung gottisdiensts zu Wittenberg fürgenommen* (The German Mass and Order of Service as performed at Wittenberg), 1526.[3] The first publication was a general outline provided at the behest of the Leisnig congregation, but addressed to no one congregation in particular. The *Formula missae* was addressed to Nicholas Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau. It contained a more detailed outline for an evangelical Latin Mass. Luther then published the *Deutsche Messe* after receiving many requests for a German Mass. While he did not want to have his example followed as a rule, he was disappointed with the music of many of the German Masses that had already appeared, and he was beginning to see a need for some uniformity of practice from parish to parish. A chart comparing Luther's *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe* to the *Missale Romanum* is provided in Figure 3.[4]

Luther's motives for reform are consistent in all three of his publications. His primary criterion was that of the doctrine of justification.[5] Any implication that the faithful

[3] English translations of these and other liturgical texts by Luther are available in both *LW* 53 and the *Works of Martin Luther: with introductions and notes* (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company and The Castle Press, 1932), vol. 6 [hereafter identified as *PE*]. The Latin text of the *Formula missae* is found in Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau and Böhlinghaus Nachfolger, 1883–), 12:205–220 [hereafter identified as *WA*]. The German text of the *Deutsche Messe* is found in *WA* 19:72–113. A facsimile of a short manuscript written in Luther's hand and giving some of the musical directions for the *Deutsche Messe* is found at the end of *WA* 19, and a transcription of the text is provided on pages 70–71 of that volume.

[4] This table is derived from Paul Zeller Strodach, General Introduction to *PE* 6:37–40. The full text of the *Missale Romanum*, translated into English, is given alongside modern Lutheran and Anglican liturgies in Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 584–618.

[5] See Chapter One for a discussion of the doctrine of justification. Other scholars have attempted to make Luther's criteria of reform twofold: Scripture and historical authority. These criteria lead to a very inconsistent view of Luther's reforms, and greatly distort the emphasis Luther himself placed on such matters. See Spinks, for a thorough discussion of these and other misconstructions. Some scholars even claim that the greater emphasis placed on congregational singing was a direct result of the idea of the "priesthood of all believers." Luther's term, which can also be translated as "the universal priesthood," is based on Peter 2:9a: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people...." Those people placed into positions of authority in the Church were to be given no special distinction other than their vocations as servants of the Church. They were subject to the same Law as all Christians, and were to be held accountable for their actions. Judgements could be made on the basis of Scripture, and discipline could be enacted as described in Matthew 18:15–18. While Luther's declaration that no human authority in the church was above criticism or judgement was radical in comparison to the unquestioning obedience of previous generations, the priesthood of all believers was in no way meant as an attempt to remove the clergy altogether. Luther is clear on the role of the clergy as the instruments of God, who administer the sacraments to the people in His stead and by His command. It is therefore misleading to imply that the priesthood of all believers is in any way responsible for the increase in congregational singing. The movement towards more congregational singing was largely pedagogical, as confirmed in many studies of hymnody in the early Lutheran Church.

Missale Romanum (Latin)	*Formula missae* (Latin)	*Deutsche Messe* (German)
1–The Act of Preparation by the priest and servers before the altar		
	(Preaching, allowable here or after the Creed)	
2–Introit	2–Introit	Hymn (vernacular) or German Psalm
3–Kyrie (9 lines)	3–Kyrie (9 lines)	3–Kyrie (3 lines)
4–Gloria in excelsis–Et in terra–	4–Gloria in excelsis–Et in terra–	
5–Salutation	5–Salutation	
6–Collect	6–Collect	6–Collect (Facing altar)
7–Epistle	7–Epistle	7–Epistle (Facing people)
8–Gradual, or	8–Gradual, shortened and	Hymn–German: *Nun biten*
9–Tract, or	with (10) Alleluia, or	*wir den heiligen Geist*
10–Alleluia	10–Alleluia	
11–Sequence	(11–Only three Sequences approved)	
12–Gospel	12–Gospel	12–Gospel
12a–Glory be...	12a–Glory be...	
12b–Praise be...	12b–Praise be...	
(Then anciently the place of the Sermon)		
(Then anciently the Dismissal of the Catechumens, etc.)		
13–Nicene Creed	13–Nicene Creed	13–Creed–German and versified: *Wir glauben all*
	Preaching	Sermon on Gospel for
14–Offertory (Prayers and actions)	14–abrogated specifically; Preparation of Elements during Creed (13) or after Sermon	Sunday or Festival
		Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer
15–Preface	15–Preface	
15a–Salutation	15a–Salutation	
15b–Sursum	15b–Sursum	
15c–Gratias	15c–Gratias	
15d–Vere dignum	15d–Vere dignum	
15e–Proper Preface		
15f–Sanctus	(15f & 15g, see below)	
15g–Benedictus qui		
16–The Canon of the Mass	16–abrogated specifically, as such	
16a–Te igitur		
16b–Memento, Domine		
16c–Communicantes		
16d–Hanc igitur		
16e–Quam oblationem		
16f–Qui pridie (The Verba)	16f–Qui pridie (Consecration)	16f–Verba (Bread administered as soon as consecrated and before consecration of wine)

Missale Romanum (Latin)	*Formula missae* (Latin)	*Deutsche Messe* (German)
	15f–Sanctus	(15f–Sanctus–German, versified: *Iesaja dem propheten das geschah*, sung during distribution of the Bread; or, *Gott sei gelobet*, or *Jesus Christus unser heiland*)
	15g–Benedictus qui... Elevation (cf. 16)	Elevation (cf.16f) during Sanctus
		Cup blessed; remainder of hymns sung or 16o
16g–Unde et memores		
16h–Supre quae		
16i–Supplices te		
16j–Memento etiam		
16k–Nobis quoque		
16l–Pater noster Libera nos...	16l–Lord's Prayer	(See above)
16m–Pax Domini (The Communion)	16m–Pax Domini Communion of celbrant first, then the people while	
16n–Haec commixtio		
16o–Agnus dei	16o–Agnus dei is sung	16o–Agnus dei
16p–Domine Jesu Christi qui dixisti		
16q–Pax tecum (The Kiss of Peace)		
16r–Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei	(16r–as prayer before communing)	
16s–Perceptio Corporis		
16t–Panem coelestem		
16u–Domine, non sum		
16v–Corpus Domine	Words of Administration 16v and 16x	
16w–Quid retribuam		
16x–Sanguis Domini		
16y–Quod ore sumpsimus		
17–Communion (Chant–Distribution)		
18–Post-Communion	18–Post-Communion (using 16y or 16s, adapted)	18–Post-Communion (Invariable German Collect)
19–Salutation		
20–Ite, missa est; or,		
21–Benedicamus Domino	21–Benedicamus with Alleluia	
22–Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus	22–Benedicat vos, or Aaronitic	

Fig. 3. Comparison of the *Missale Romanum* to Luther's *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*. From *PE* 6:37–40, ©1970, Concordia Publishing House. Used with Permission.

might be saved by their own merit was to be removed. The idea that man might consider himself worthy to offer up sacrifices to God was particulary abhorrent to Luther: man is saved by faith, not works. With the coming of Christ, the Old Testament sacrifices were no longer required. This meant that the Offertory and the entire Canon of the Mass had to be excised. Luther's preliminary suggestions for such a reform were published as the *Formula missae*.

The *Formula missae*

While Luther was firm in his removal of those sections which were clearly anti-scriptural (and therefore went directly against the doctrine of justification), those sections which were neither commanded nor forbidden by Scripture (*adiaphora*) were generally retained.[6] This was done in the interest of church order and to prevent those exercising their Christian freedom from confusing the "weak in faith" with too many innovations. The *Formula missae* therefore was quite similar to the *Missale Romanum* (apart from the removal of most of the Canon and the Offertory), with the addition of preaching in German and a few hymns.

In the preface to the *Formula missae*, Luther describes his reluctance to provide a new order of service :

> For I have been hesitant and fearful, partly because of the weak in faith, who cannot suddenly exchange an old and accustomed order of worship for a new and unusual one, and more so because of the fickle and fastidious spirits who rush in like unclean swine without faith or reason, and who delight only in novelty and tire of it as quickly, when it has worn off.[7]

He then proceeds to outline his intentions in the reform of the Mass:

> We therefore first assert: It is not now nor ever has been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God completely, but rather to purify the one that is now in use from the wretched accretions which corrupt it and to point out an evangelical use. We cannot deny that the mass, i.e., the communion of bread and wine, is a rite divinely instituted by Christ himself and that it was observed first by Christ and then by the apostles, quite simply and evangelically without any additions. But in

[6] The position (based on Brilioth's erroneous accusations) that Luther considered the *adiaphora* to be matters which were indifferent—and therefore of no interest to him—needs to be contested firmly here. Luther had strong opinions about matters of *adiaphora*, as we have already seen in his comments on music. While these matters are truly free, Luther used aesthetic judgement and concern for his fellow Christians to temper more radical reforms and innovations.

[7] *LW* 53:19.

> the course of time so many human inventions were added to it that nothing except the names of the mass and communion have come down to us.[8]

He is also clear on the matter of not turning the new order of service into a work itself:

> Therefore, it is not in these matters that anyone should either seek or establish as law some indispensble form by which he might ensnare or harass consciences.... Further, even if different people make use of different rites, let no one judge or despise the other, but every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Let us feel and think the same, though we may act differently. And let us approve each other's rites lest schisms and sects should result from this diversity in rites—as has happened in the Roman church. For external rites, even though we cannot do without them—just as we cannot do without food or drink—do not commend us to God, even as food does not commend us to him.[9]

Two reforms suggested by Luther were to have an effect on the music of the Liturgy directly: the reduction in the number of feasts to be observed (and therefore the removal of the musical settings of those Introits), and the re-introduction of hymns in the vernacular. Luther is clear on both:

> But we in Wittenberg intend to observe only the Lord's days and the festivals of the Lord. We think that all the feasts of the saints should be abrogated, or if anything in them deserves it, it should be brought into the Sunday sermon. We regard the feasts of Purification and Annunciation as feasts of Christ, even as Epiphany and Circumcision. Instead of the feasts of St. Stephen and of St. John the Evangelist, we are pleased to use the office of the Nativity. The feasts of the Holy Cross shall be anathema. Let others act according to their own conscience or in consideration of the weakness of some—whatever the Spirit may suggest.[10]

> I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings or responds to while the bishop is consecrating? The bishops may have these hymns sung either after the Latin chants, or use the Latin on one day and the vernacular on the next, until the time comes that the whole mass is sung in the vernacular. But poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, worthy to be used in the church of God.[11]

Luther's suggestions as outlined here and espoused elsewere were to provide the impetus for many evangelically-minded reformers to attempt their own settings of the Liturgy entirely in German. After Luther had reviewed some of these reforms, and at the behest of

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[8] *LW* 53:20.

[9] *LW* 53:31.

[10] *LW* 53:23.

[11] *LW* 53:36.

those who wanted more uniformity in practice, he published his ideas as the *Deutsche Messe.*

The *Deutsche Messe*

While Luther's reforms of the Liturgy begin and end in theology, he also had aesthetic concerns with regard to the music of the Liturgy. These concerns became clearly evident in his setting of the *Deutsche Messe.* Luther consulted musicians such as Walter and Rupsch on the manner of setting the German language. The settings which resulted were published along with their musical notation as examples of the desired effect.

Other German Liturgies had already been in use for several years when Luther's version was published. Ulrich S. Leupold gives the following description of the Liturgies available at the time, as well as the reasons Luther had for his delay in providing his own version:

> In 1522 Wolfgang Wissenburger in Basel and Johann Schwebel in Pforzheim had begun services in the vernacular. The same year Kaspar Kantz introduced and published a German mass. In 1523 Thomas Münzer followed with a German mass, Matins, and Vespers elaborately printed with all the original plain-chant melodies. Other orders were introduced in Reutlingen, Wertheim, Kõnigsberg, and Strassburg during 1524. The multiplicity of German masses threatened to become confusing, and Luther's friends appealed to him to end the confusion and to submit his own blueprint of a German mass. But the Reformer dragged his feet and for several years shied away from fulfilling their request. He had several reasons for his hesitancy. When his friend Nicholas Hausmann proposed an evangelical council to enforce liturgical uniformity, Luther objected to the use of compulsion. He felt that each evangelical center should be free either to devise its own liturgy or to borrow from others. At the same time he objected to the legalism of those who meant to abolish the Latin mass completely and acted as though the reformation of the church depended on the exclusive use of the German language.... But the strongest reason for Luther's dilatoriness was his artistic integrity. He realized much more clearly than his eager contemporaries that introducing a German mass was more than a matter of translating the text. It required the creation of new music adapted to the speech rhythm of the German language.[12]

Luther disapproved of setting the German texts to the old Latin melodies without adapting the melodic line to suit the German words. Referring to Müntzer's settings, Luther stated:

> Although I am willing to permit the translating of Latin texts of choral and vocal music into the vernacular with the retention of the original notes and musical settings, I am nevertheless of the opinion that the result sounds neither proper nor correct; the text, the notes, the accents, the tune, and likewise the entire outward

[12] *LW* 53:53–54.

expression must be genuine outgrowths of the original text and its spirit; otherwise, everything is nothing more than apish imitation.[13]

Mattfeld describes Luther's reaction to Müntzer's settings as follows:

> Luther found it artistically unsatisfactory to maintain the chant and change only the text. If the language was to be changed so must the music. In Müntzer's settings, the "Latin notes" did not always fit the German text with logical accentuation. Thus, for example, for Advent, Müntzer used the *Alleluia Ostende nobis*; the basic outlines of the original chant were retained but the *jubilus* was considerably altered as was the music of the *Versus*. The latter was severely curtailed and, in order to adapt the notes to the German text, materials were selected at random from the original chant. Certainly, this treatment could only represent a distortion to Luther.[14]

Luther's aesthetic concerns led finally to his publication of the *Deutsche Messe*.

Luther's handwritten notes on the music for the German Mass read as follows (musical examples omitted):

> For the introit we shall use a Psalm, arranged as syllabically as possible, for example: [I will bless the Lord at all times: his praise shall continually be in my mouth]. And since the German language is quite monosyllabic, the termination has to have its own form, as you well know. The notes for the Epistle must somehow follow the Eighth Tone, but way down: [Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through, etc.]. The notes for the Gospel in the Fifth Tone, also low: [In the night when Jesus was betrayed, he took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples and said: take, eat; this is my body which is given for you]. Question: [Jesus said to his disciples: Know ye that after two days is the Passover?]. After that there is yet / The Sanctus and the Agnus Dei / And the mass is complete.[15]

Leupold gives a musical description of the sections of the resulting *Deutsche Messe* publication that is worth citing in full here (editorial details have been removed):

> 1. In the original the introit (Psalm 34) is printed out consecutively verse after verse with its music.... Luther developed this chant by recasting the first psalm tone. But whereas the original plain-chant psalm tone had two accented notes both in the mediation and termination, Luther provided for three in either place. Contrary to Gregorian usage, he also observed the word accent in the intonation. Due to these changes most of the text is sung to the intonation, mediation, and termination, and very little of it is left for the reciting note. Moreover, Luther takes many liberties with his cadences in the interest of better adapting the music to the text. His music is more flexible and follows the rhythm of speech more closely

[13] Buszin, "Luther on Music," 95.

[14] Mattfeld, 63–64, n. 2.

[15] *LW* 53:55–57. See this source for modern editions of Luther's melodies. It is hard to know what Luther meant by the German language being "monosyllabic." He may be speaking only of the text of this particular example. The Latin translation reads: *Benedicam Jehovae omni tempore: jugiter laus ejus erin in ore meo.* In comparsion, the German text is much more monosyllabic: *Ich will den Herrn loben allezeit; sein Lob soll immer in meinem Munde sein.*

than Gregorian psalmody. On the other hand, it is less consistent and would therefore be more difficult to learn or to adapt to other Psalms. This may be the reason why this introit Psalm was not taken over into other liturgies or hymnals.

2. The Kyrie is based on the first psalm tone.

3. The inflections for the Epistle are based on the eighth psalm tone. But the tonality is almost a modern F major. Here as in the introit Psalm, a certain emphasis on the inflections at the expense of the reciting note is quite evident. In comparison with the Gregorian tones for chanting the lessons, Luther's tone is far more "melodious." The range of the melody is greater (a seventh), the intervals used are larger, and most of the cadences (colon, period, and termination) provide for two accents.

The additional example for the Epistle at the end of the *German Mass* seems to have been added to demonstrate the use of the proper inflection for questions. Strangely enough, this example uses a slightly modified and simplified version of the same tone. The melody hovers between *f* and *c* without rising to *a* and *b*-flat, as does the earlier example. On the whole, the pointing is simpler and more consistent. It has therefore been surmised that the "professional" musician, Johann Walter, was responsible for this version. In his report on the preparation of the music for the *German Mass*, Walter writes, "He [Luther] kept me for three weeks in Wittenberg to note down properly the chants of the Gospels and the Epistles, until the first mass was sung in Wittenberg." Luther's words to Justus Menius, "The last melody for the Epistle and Gospel pleases me better, although our people here do not use it; but I wish you and others would make use of it," need not contradict the assumption that Walter assisted in working out these examples.

4. For the Gospel Luther borrowed a feature from the traditional tone for the chanting of the passion. In the latter it was customary to have the parts of the evangelist, of Christ, and of all other persons sung by different clerics and on different reciting notes. The evangelist's words were sung on middle *c*, the words of Christ on the lower *f*, and the words of all other persons on high *f*. Similarly, Luther used three levels: *a* for the evangelist, *f* for Christ, and *c'* for all other persons (e.g., John the Baptist and his interrogators in Luther's example). The tendency to make the whole chant more "melodious," to extend the cadences, and to allow for two accents in most of them is as evident here as in the Epistle tone. It has often been noted that Luther's introduction of this chant in the *German Mass* seems to contradict Walter's report on the preparation of this music. Luther says that the Gospel should be read "in the fifth tone." But Walter recalls that the Reformer assigned the sixth mode to the Gospel, for "Christ is a kind Lord and his words are sweet." Actually, these words need not imply any contradiction. The only difference between Lydian (the fifth mode) and Hypo-lydian (the sixth mode) is that the former gravitates toward *c'*, while the latter gravitates toward *f* [*sic*]. Thus while the whole Gospel tone may be said to be in the fifth mode, the words of Christ certainly follow the sixth mode. In keeping with his frequent emphasis that the Words of Institution are the "gospel in a nutshell" or essentially proclamation, Luther used the same melody for them as for the Gospel. The cadences are the same, and here as there Luther uses a different reciting note for the narration and for Christ.

The additional example at the end of the *German Mass* for the chanting of the Gospel is as puzzling as that for the Epistle. Seemingly, it was added to illustrate the tone for the words of Jesus. But there is no distinction here between the reciting notes for the evangelist and for Jesus. The inflections are not the same. Especially the termination with its emphatic *b*-flat changes the whole character of the melody and makes it a modified first mode, very much like the introit Psalm and

Kyrie. Was Walter also the arranger of this example?

5. The text of the Sanctus is a paraphrase of Isa. 6:1–4, and the melody is a free adaptation of a plain chant Sanctus (*In Dominici Adventus et Quadragesimae* in the *Graduale Romanum*). Johann Walter vouches for Luther's authorship with the following words, "... among other [melodies] it is the German Sanctus which shows his [Luther's] perfect mastery in adapting the notes to the text." And we will concur in this judgement if we note the expressive rise of the melody on "lofty throne," "six wings," "faces clear," "Holy is God," the climax on "loudly raised the shout," and the melodic dip on "clouds of smoke." Tonally, the melody is written in the Lydian mode. Since the Lydian Subdominant forms the awkward interval of an augmented fourth with the Tonic, it is always flatted, except when it serves as a quasi-leading note to the Dominant. This is the reason for the alternation of *f*-sharp and *f*-natural.... It should be mentioned that later sixteenth-century agendas had the "Holy, Holy," etc., in the chorale sung with special gravity and dignity. In city churches it was to be intoned by three boys kneeling before the altar.[16]

The *Deutsche Messe* is designed primarily as a teaching service for the unlearned, with explanations of the parts of the service provided by the pastor. Luther desired that it would be used in conjunction with the Latin Mass, as was the practice in Wittenberg. The intent was that it would be especially useful for smaller, rural congregations. Luther again stressed that he did not want the service to be turned into a law or good work, for the "virtue of any good order is in its proper use."[17]

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[16] *LW* 53:57–60. Leupold is in error in his comparison of the Lydian and Hypolydian modes. While they both have *f* as their *finales*, the *tenor* (reciting tone) of the Lydian mode is *c'* and the *tenor* of the Hypolydian is *a* (not *f*, as indicated).

[17] *LW* 53:90.

CHAPTER FOUR

MUSIC THEORY AND AESTHETICS IN WALTER'S TIME

Many prominent theorists were active during Walter's lifetime. It will suit our purposes here to cite and compare just a few. The writings of Johannes Tinctoris (ca. 1435–1511), Nicolaus Listenius (born ca. 1510), and Adrian Petit Coclico (ca. 1500–1562) formed part of the curriculum at the University of Wittenburg at one time or another during Walter's life.[1] Tinctoris' writings reflect some of the ideas that were developing as music was moving into the new style of the early sixteenth century, Listenius' writings reflect the type of material studied by the upper grades, and the writings of Coclico (who studied with Josquin) give a picture of the type of *Kantor* to come. Coclico's student, Michael Vogt (1526–1606), succeeded Walter as *Stadtkantor* in Torgau. While it cannot be established that Walter or Luther came across them directly, treatises like those by Nicolaus Burtius (ca. 1450–after February 1518) and Hermann Finck (1527–1558), published in 1487 and 1556 respectively, provide a frame for the affects of the modes with which Luther was so much concerned.

Johannes Tinctoris

Tinctoris shares some of Walter's enthusiasm for the power of music to move human emotion, which came to fruition in his treatise entirely devoted to the subject: *Complexus effectuum musices*. His chapter headings outline his understanding of the effect of music, starting with what he considered to be the most important:

> To delight in God,
> To adorn the praise of God,
> To increase the joy of the blessed,
> To unite the church militant and triumphant,
> To prepare for an undertaking of divine benediction,
> To arouse souls to piety,
> To drive out sadness,
> To loosen hardness of the heart,

[1] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 260–271.

To drive out the devil,
To cause ecstasy,
To elevate the mortal mind,
To revoke evil inclination,
To cheer men,
To cure sickness,
To keep toil within limits,
To incite the courage to do battle,
To entice love,
To augment jocular feasts,
To glorify those skilled in it,
To bless souls.[2]

Tinctoris, in a model similar to Luther's, emphasizes the power of music to drive away the devil, and finds his evidence in the Old Testament:

> That is why it is written in the first book of Samuel [16:23]: 'Daniel took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.' Concerning this, a modern poet has produced the following verses: 'King David curbed the rage of the demon in Saul/ Thus showing the wondrous virtue of the lyre with this song.'[3]

Music is also capable of moving the human soul:

> No-one is in doubt that people can be brought to repentence by hearing a song. For this reason the church has introduced the singing of God's praises. And, since the soul attains redemption through repentence, it follows that music is in this case the cause of salvation. But this salvation is the highest bliss, attained not only, as mentioned above, by those who hear music but especially by those who have knowledge of it. That is why the prophet says [89, v.15]: 'Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound.'[4]

Tinctoris elaborates on the power of music to move not only the human soul, but all things animate and inanimate:

> And how great was that melody, by whose power the Gods, shades, dread spirits, animals, including those capable of reason, and inanimate objects are read to have been moved! For, and this is the unbelievable part, it is not far from a mystery, since poets would not have conceived such things about music unless they had seen its power as something to be marveled at, with, at times, a divine invigoration of the soul.[5]

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[2] Johannes Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices*, in *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*, an on-line database provided by the School of Music at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indianapolis. Translation mine.

[3] Johannes Tinctoris, *Complexus effectum musices*, in *Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music*, vol. 2, eds. Ruth Katz and Carl Dahlhaus, Aesthetics in Music 5 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), 44.

[4] Ibid., 49.

[5] Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportions in Music (Proportionale Musices)*, trans. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press Translations 10 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1979), 1.

Tinctoris anticipates Luther's description of the aesthetic beauty of music and his praise for the musicians who create it:

> Therefore he [God] desires to hear from his beloved spouse, which the faithful believe the church to be, the sweetness of the voice that only music can produce. For he talks to her through Solomon thus [Solomon's Song, 2:14]: 'Let me hear thy voice', as if he were saying: 'Because your voice is sweet, that is, melodious, I desire you to let me hear it.' And God would not desire to hear the sweetness of the voice if it did not delight him in any way.[6]

> Nowadays we have seen how much glory most musicians have achieved. For who does not know John Dunstable, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois, Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Busnois, Johannes Regis, Philippe Caron, Jacobus Carlerii, Robert Morton, Jacob Obrecht? Who does not give them the highest praise, as their compositions, spread over the entire globe, fill God's temples, the palaces of Kings and the homes of private people with the utmost sweetness? I do not speak of those many musicians who have been given great wealth and titles, because even such honours as they have reaped may not be compared to the immortal fame the foremost composers have acquired. The former is due to fortune, the latter however to virtue.[7]

Tinctoris' concern for the youth and their misuse of music, a concern which Walter does not share, is purely compositional. His concern is that composers learn to adopt a uniform method of notating proportions:

> Therefore, lest youths wishing to learn this liberal and honest musical art be taken by ignorance in these proportions and by error of this kind, for the praise of God from whose gift all things are ... I begin this little work ....[8]

Like Walter and Luther, Tinctoris affirms his conviction that music is a gift of God.

Nicolaus Listenius

In his 1549 treatise *Musica*, Listenius also makes reference to the affect of music:

> [Music] influences souls to humanity, suavity, even-temper; it restrains all immoderate affections, grief, wrath; it represses violence and obscene desires, for it calms them; as in sounds and songs, so in all the actions of life we may conserve harmony. Hence we see the highest kings in old monuments singing and playing on strings, not only as a pastime for the enjoyment of the ears, but even more, however, making it a serious art, tying music to the harmony of the soul. David used music in deeply exciting the serious and spriritual affections. For this same reason, with all peoples and all periods of music, it has been used in sacred observances, not as a useless voluptuousness, to play some kind of game, but in

[6] Tinctoris, *Complexus effectum musices*, 39.

[7] Ibid., 49.

[8] Tinctoris, *Proportions in Music*, 3. For an explanation of the basic elements of the proportional system, see "Proportion" in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 660–661.

song, as souls are made more tranquil and are attuned to the correct movement of heavenly teaching; hence its doctrines will more efficiently move souls when song arises.[9]

Here he also appeals to the example of David and warns against the improper use of music, as did both Luther and Walter. His theoretical terms are very similar to Walter's, as can be seen in the following series of definitions:

> Music is the science of singing correctly and well. To sing well is to present a song correctly through its notes, in accord with a specific, known rule and fitness. And it is triple: theoretical, practical and poetic.... These latter two types (i.e., practical and poetic) have always the first (theoretical) included, but the reverse is not true.
>
> Practical music is in turn divided in two parts, Choral and Figured. Choral music is that which produces and measures its notes uniformly, without addition and subtraction made by prolation, and is called by another name Gregorian, Plain, Old, since it was developed to its highest state by Gregory, Ambrose and others of our ancestors. Figured music is that which varies in the quantity of its notes and measure, in the inequality of its signs and figures with the addition and subtraction of prolation. This is called by another name Mensural, or by another as New since it admits various mensurations and figures. And both types are in use, not only in instruments that have no words but also in the live voice of man; thus I take in, in brief, all types of this art.[10]

Listenius does not appear to emphasize music theory over practice here, nor does he give any precedence to vocal over instrumental.

Adrian Petit Coclico

Coclico presents the following poem as an introduction to his *Compendium Musices* (Nuremberg, 1552):

> Griselius, a scholar of Wittenberg, in commendation of music:
>
> Music has been invented to celebrate divine praises,
> So that through its numbers it may serve God.
> Its gift has not been made for vile uses;
> He who gave this gave it for more pleasant fruit.
>
> In song, in voice, in sound and in hymns God must be praised.
> For this Music supplies her handmaiden with a ready hand.
> She raises by its numbers far above the heavens
> Those whom virtue makes noble and famous.

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[9] Nicolaus Listenius, *Musica* (Nuremberg 1549), trans. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press Translations 6 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1975), 1.

[10] Ibid., 3.

She commends the daring of heroes in pleasant concords;
She accompanies that reward of virtue which is God.
O youth, does not something disgust you now in your slowness,
What Lycaian lands do you till in your Elbian school?

What delays do you pretend; does sloth itself hold you?
Why is the Goddess Music less pleasing to you?
Do you detest that gift of God, so great and pious,
To which nothing here devised by men takes rank as more lovely?

Does not that spirit of God, his Divine will, honor
This work; does it not shame you, sluggard, to be nothing?
Music leads minds to the heavenly palace,
To celebrate God in true knowledge.

She moves the emotions and not only softens breasts,
But also she influences the fibers of a living heart.
She frees hearts burdened by sad sorrow,
Often she takes away useless fears.

She will give to an afflicted mind sweet solace,
She also produces terror, when she wants it to be,
She takes away swollen pride from the breasts of men,
She does not permit us to have had cruel hands.

She calls forth overrunning sighs from an affected heart.
Often she causes eyes to grow wet with tears.
She controls illicit fevers of a passionate body
And, like a bridle, rules our breasts.

The insane wife of Agamemnon lived chaste for a long time
Until Music entered into her body.
When, forced by deceit, she had left the crowded hall,
She had been made wicked by the guilt of foul adultery.

Let us add that everywhere one is not considered as refined
Who does not know how to judge sweet sounds by his ear.
Let Themistocles himself be for you, O noble youth,
An example how much sacred Music may help.

I give to his genius less place, since he was reputed,
So it has been said, to be ignorant of the lyre.
Therefore, put aside your delays, you who aspire to the other arts;
This sister you must not pass by.

Let Music be the most esteemed in your studies,
For without it you cannot have the name of learned.
Begin while the age of springtime flourishes in you,
While he who teaches you is ready for you.

This Adrian will be the most learned in the art of singing,
On whom Euterpe herself has conferred the highest praise.
The Italian clime has marvelled at his singing;
He ought to be even more pleasing to northern regions.

To use that youth granted you by kindness
Is a virtue to be able to be enjoyed at the right time.

Farewell.[11]

The poem touches upon much of the previous discussion: music as a gift of God, to be used in praise of God—not for "vile uses"; music as aesthetically pleasing to the "refined ear"; and, music as an affect of various emotions.

Coclico proceeds from this introduction to indicate his desire to provide practical instruction in music:

> From these remarks, it appears, I think, that music is undoubtedly at its best in that part which is pleasing to men's ears; it rests more upon the practical than the theoretical.[12]
>
> This, however, can hardly be understood except through performance and examples. I have wished to train this boyish industry in music through but few words and precepts on that account, so that no youth running to the books of musician-mathematicians will waste his life in reading them and never arrive at the goal of singing well.[13]

These remarks are in direct contrast to the prevailing thought that theory was to have precedence over practice.[14]

Coclico also echoed Luther's concerns about the proper setting of a text:

> The sixth thing that is required in a composer is that he think over his text carefully, that he choose a particular tone or harmony, that he treat his text ornately in an appropriate manner, since there are some men, more than blind groping in shadows, who add sad melodies to comforting words full of joy and, on the other hand, create happy melodies for mournful words.[15]

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[11] Adrian Petit Coclico, *Compendium Musices* (Nuremberg, 1552), trans. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press 5 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1973), 2–3.

[12] Ibid., 9.

[13] Ibid., 10.

[14] As evidenced by those theorists like Adam of Fulda.

[15] Ibid., 26. This passage may serve as clarification of Coclico's famous term, *musica reservata*. It was used for the first time in this treatise and in the title of his *Musica reservata, consolationes piae ex psalmis davidicis...* published in Nuremberg in the same year, and has been defined by various theorists as "(1) music expressive of the emotions delineated by the text, (2) music reserved in expression, (3) music with improvised ornamentation, (4) music characterized by reserve in the use of figuration, and (5) music reserved for the elite, a sort of vocal chamber music." See Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959), 514. The first definition seems to best convey the approach of both Luther and Walter to the setting of texts.

The appropriate melodies were to be chosen on the basis of contemporary teachings about the affects of the modes.

Nicolaus Burtius and Hermann Finck

Burtius' treatise *Opusculum musices* (Bologna, 1487) gives the following affects of the modes:

> (1) '... induces happiness ... capable of producing all affects'; (2) '... heavy and pitiable ... suitable for lamentations'; (3) '... provoking to anger'; (4) '... inciting to pleasure and tempering wrath'; (5) '... delightful, modest, and cheerful'; (6) '... pious and lacrymose'; (7) '... partly ... playful and pleasant ... partly ... inciting, and having a variety of leaps'; (8) ' ... more gladdening ... and stimulates pleasantness'.[16]

Seventy years later, Hermann Finck lists the properties of the modes in his treatise *Practica musica* (Wittenberg, 1556):

> (1) 'Dorian ... has the liveliest melody of all, arouses the somnolent, refreshes the sad and disturbed ... [it is] like the Sun, who is deemed first among the planets ... the foremost musicians today use this tone the most.' (2) "Hypodorian ... is diametrically opposed to the former ... produces tears, makes [one] morose ... pitiable, heavy, serious, most subdued of all ... [like] the Moon'. (3) 'Phrygian ... not wrongly attributed to Mars ... moves to choler and biliousness ... loud words, hideous battles, and bold deeds suit this [tone]'. (4) 'Hypophrygian ... represents the parasite, who caters to the passions of his master ... is assigned to Mercury on account of the likeness in nature'. (5) 'Lydian ... not unlike the sanguine [temperament] ... corresponds with cheerfulness, friendliness, the gentler affects ... since it pleases most of all, it averts quarrels, calms agitation, fosters peace, and is of a jovial nature ... [it is] the joy of the sorrowful, the restoring of the desperate, the solace of the afflicted.' (6) 'Hypolydian ... [is] contrary to the former ... not infrequent in prayers ... by others attributed to Venus'. (7) 'Mixolydian ... has more in common with Saturn ... shows itself with stentorean voice and great shouts, so as to be a terror to all'. (8) 'Hypomixolydian ... is not unlike an honest matron, who tries to soften and calm the wrath and turmoil of [her] husband with agreeable discourse ... studiously avoids offence ... pacific'.[17]

Neither listing seems to contradict the other, and with some creativity both could be considered in agreement with Luther's interpretation of the sixth mode (used for Christ in the *Deutsche Messe*) as "kind" and "sweet" and the eighth mode (used for Paul) as "serious."

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[16] Harold S. Powers, "Mode," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980) 12:399.

[17] Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MUSIC OF WALTER

A Survey of Walter's *Werke*

The publication of Johann Walter's *Sämtliche Werke* was begun by Otto Schröder, who compiled and edited the works of Walter before and during World War II. He oversaw the publication of the first volume in 1943, but was taken ill and died in January, 1946. The edition was continued by Max Schneider, his friend and collaborator, and completed by Werner Braun (Volume Four) and Joachim Stalmann (Volume Six). The second printing of Volume One in 1953 and the printing of all the subsequent volumes was made possible by the collaboration of the publishers Bärenreiter-Verlag and Concordia Publishing House, with support from both the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* and the Missouri Synod. The edition was completed in 1973, having been published in chronological order except for Volume Four, which was published last.

The *Sämtliche Werke* consists of six volumes. Volumes One and Two present a modern edition of the 1551 publication of Walter's *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, divided into *Deutsche Gesänge* and *Cantiones latinae*. Volume Three includes seventeen compositions deleted from the 1551 edition, but included in previous editions, as well as German songs and Latin motets by Walter that were either published separately or existed only in manuscript. Volume Four includes Walter's unpublished works: *Deutsche Passionen nach Matthäus und Johannes* (1525–30), *Magnificat octo tonorum* (1540), *Psalmen, eine Antiphon* (1540), and *Fugen sonderlich auf Zinken* (1542). Volume Five contains the published works *Cantiones septum vocum* (1544) and *Magnificat octo tonorum: quatuor, quinque et sex vocibus* (Jenae, 1557). Volume Six contains the published work *Das Christlich Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri Erhalt uns HErr etc.* (1566), as well as some anonymous and disputed works from the "Torgau Walter Mss"[1] and his

[1] See page 53 for a description of the manuscripts.

poems without music (two of which were published: *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* [1538] and *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica* [1564]).

The *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* (*SW* 1–3)

The *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, as it was spelled on the original title page, was first published in 1524. It contained forty-three polyphonic settings for three, four and five voices, printed as a set of part-books (*Discant, Alt, Tenor, Bass, Vagant*). The first thirty-eight texts were in German, while the last five were in Latin. This collection, now commonly referred to as Walter's *Chorgesangbuch*, was one of the first hymnals written for the Lutheran church. It was distinct from other collections which were also beginning to appear at that time (like the Erfurt *Enchiridion* of 1524) in that it contained the work of a single composer, and it included a preface written by Luther himself (see Appendix A for a translation of Luther's Preface to the *Chorgesangbuch*).

Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* was reprinted in 1525, and then revised and re-published in 1537, 1544 and 1551. Sixteen German songs from the original edition were removed altogether, and both the Latin and German compositions were expanded until the 1551 edition included seventy-four German and forty-seven Latin settings. Volumes One and Two of Walter's *Werke* contain all the compositions from the 1551 edition, while Volume Three includes those settings from the previous editions which did not appear in 1551.

Both the German and Latin compositions are polyphonic *cantus firmus* settings, the melodies of which would later become known as Lutheran chorale tunes. Many of these chorale melodies were created by Walter and were to become the basis of many centuries of chorale settings to follow. Some were based on Gregorian melodies, others on German tunes, and many were adapted from the original Latin melodies by Walter according to Luther's requirements for the musical setting of the German language. (See Appendix B for a comparative chart of all four editions, taken from *S W* 3, and expanded to include English translations of some of the *Anmerkungen* (notes) of interest from the same volume, in point form).

The compositions included in the *Chorgesangbücher* were meant to be sung in polyphony by a trained choir. According to Robin Leaver, the congregation would also have been taught to sing the hymns in unison, led by the choir:

> The Wittenberg congregations did not have a hymnal to sing from but they did have the hymns available in broadsheet form. Thus it seems most likely that an *alternatim* practice quickly developed, with the congregation singing alternate stanzas in unison, led by the boys of the choir, in response to the Kantorei singing the other stanzas in Walter's polyphonic setting of the hymn for the day. This practice is known to have occurred in Wittenberg a few years later, especially for the main liturgical hymn, which was sung between the Epistle and Gospel, after the gradual.[2]

A hymnal designed specifically for congregational use was published in 1525; it included only the melodies of the polyphonic settings from Walter's *Chorgesangbuch*, given in the same order as the original. This collection was also introduced by Luther's preface.[3]

There are many interesting points to be drawn from the publication of Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* and its use in the church. The fact that the first officially sanctioned hymnal of the Lutheran church contained only polyphonic settings supports the view that Luther was not only interested in the utility of music, but also in its artistic presentation. Both German and Latin were used in all of Walter's hymnals, consistent with Luther's reforms of the Liturgy (Latin was not to be replaced entirely by German). And finally, we see concrete evidence of congregational singing in the broadsheets and *cantus firmus* hymnals.

The Individual German Songs and Latin Motets (*SW* 3)

The third volume of Walter's *Werke* also includes those compositions which were published in various collections, appeared only in manuscript, or were published singly. These include eighteen Latin motets and four German *Lieder*. The two published works are *Herzlich tut mich erfreuen* (1552) and *Wach auf, du deutsches Land* (1561). See Appendix C for a listing of the compositions included in this volume.

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[2] Robin A. Leaver, "The Lutheran Reformation" chap. in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Man and Music Series (London: Macmillan, 1989), 270.

[3] Ibid., 270–271.

The Passions (*S W* 4)

The fourth volume of Walter's *Werke*, having been published last, contains those works which are of lesser importance or are of questionable origin. The Passions according to Matthew and John are examples of the latter. While it is difficult to determine whether Walter composed these works himself, it is assumed that he "reworked the passions to the extent of translating and arranging them from older Latin sources in one and more parts."[4] The sources that remain were certainly used by the Torgau choirmasters during Walter's lifetime. Both the St. Matthew and St. John Passions are found in four of the five so-called Torgau Walter-manuscripts: the *Chorbuch Gotha* (1545), known as the *Gothaer Cantionale*, the *Chorbuch Berlin* (before 1548), the *Tenorstimmbuch Nürnberg* (before 1538/9), known as the "Luther Codex," and the *Baßtimme Nürnberg* (1551?), of Saxon origin.[5] Unfortunately, only the *turbae*[6] sections were preserved in the original manuscripts.

The Passions as presented in *S W* 4 contain solo chants (based on later Passion editions) separated by *falsobordone*[7] *turbae*. The *turbae* have no known *cantus firmi*, while the chants are based on the traditional passion tone. Werner Braun reports that the *Gothaer Cantionale* indicated that Torgau practice "was to perform the St. Matthew passion on Palm Sunday, the St. John passion on Good Friday. This was abandoned in the course of the sixteenth century. The following entry appears in the Torgau Visitation records of spring, 1580: 'For sundry years the German passion has been sung on Good Friday, with polyphonic choral responses. This is now unjustly neglected.'"[8]

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[4] Werner Braun, Forward to *S W* 4:xv.

[5] *Chorbuch Gotha*, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, Gotha, *Chart.* A 98, 42x30.5 cm; *Chorbuch Berlin*, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, *Mus. ms.* 40013, lost, 47.3x37.5 cm; *Tenorstimmbuch Nürnberg*, Germanisches Museum, *M* 369 *m* = Hs. 83795, *Tenor*, 15x20.5 cm; *Baßtimme Nürnberg*, Germanisches Museum, *M* 369 = Hs. 83795, *Baß*, 16.5x22 cm, of Saxon origin. *S W* 4:xv, n.3. A detailed study of the manuscripts appears in Carl Gerhardt, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1949).

[6] *Turbae* commonly refers to the sections of the Gospels spoken by a crowd, e.g., "Crucify Him!"

[7] *Falsobordone* refers to the harmonization of psalm tones or other melodies with root position triads where all four parts are written out. A section written in *falsobordone* style is generally triadic, homophonic, and the bass voice tends to move in 4ths and 5ths. The term is differentiated from *fauxbourdon*, the technique of improvised singing or shorthand notation where two voices are given and the others are filled in through formulaic procedures.

[8] Braun, xv, n.4. Braun here quotes Karl Pallas, ed., *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachen und angrenzender Gebiete 41 (Halle: O. Hendel, 1911), 4:50.

Although the origins of the Passions are somewhat unclear, Braun contends that their inclusion in Walter's *Werke* "demonstrate[s] the supposed participation of Walter in the history of the passion—as notator, editor, the man who transformed a tradition into a literature by writing it down, thereby making it more widely available by allowing the German *historia* to emerge from an old local tradition, thus foreshadowing a genre which was later to be represented in Germany by a succession of unique masterpieces."[9]

The Unpublished Psalms, Magnificats, and Fugues (*S W* 4)

Included in the fourth volume of Walter's *Werke* are eight Latin psalms in *falsobordone* style, eight Magnificat settings in *contrapunctus simplex*[10] style, and twenty-seven textless "fugues" in two and three parts. While the styles of these collected works are somewhat divergent, they share in common their references to the eight modes.[11] The psalms and Magnificat settings use the pitches and recitation formulas prescribed by the ecclesiastical calendar, while the "fugues" are modal in the sense that they use certain scalic segments and pivotal tones derived from modal practice.

Walter set Psalms 109, 127, 134, 110, 137, 143, 112, and 144 in each of the eight modes, respectively. They are *cantus firmus* treatments of the prescribed recitation tones, with the melody occurring in either the tenor or soprano voice. The position of the melody

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[9] Braun, xix. J. S. Bach is supposed to have modelled some of his setting of the St. Matthew Passion on Walter's, which was still being performed in Leipzig during Bach's lifetime. See Theodor Göllner, "*Barraban*: Zur Gleichzeitigkeit der Passionen von Walter und Bach in Leipzig," *Johann Sebastian Bach und der Süddeutsche Raum: Aspekte der Wirkingsgeschichte Bachs* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1991), 25–37.

[10] *Contrapunctus simplex* is defined by Tinctoris as "note-against-note style" in his *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*. See Johannes Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, trans. and annotated by Carl Parrish, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series, ed. Bea Friedland (London: The Free Press, a Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., 1963; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1978), translation of *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (Treviso, Italy: Gerardus de Flandria, ca. 1495).

[11] Mode here refers to the system of classification of melodies determined by their range (*ambitus*) and final note (*finalis*) as used in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The eight so-called "church modes" are: Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Lydian, Hypolydian, Mixolydian and Hypomixolydian. The modal classifications developed from a combination of the Eastern Christian system of classification (applied to liturgical chant), combined with Hellenistic theory (as found, for example, in Boethius). Medieval theorists used these systems to classify Latin liturgical chant into a closed system of eight modes. Heinrich Glarean synthesized the modal system and added two new pairs of modes in his *Dodecachordon* (Basle, 1547). The modes he added were the Aeolian, Hypoaeolian, Ionian and Hypoionian. While Walter appears to have used the Ionian and Aeolian modes in some of his compositions, he retains the traditional eight modes (in order) for his Magnificat settings.

creates the following ternary pattern: SS-TSTS-TT. Such a ternary organization would suggest both theological and liturgical significance.

The eight Magnificat settings are in fairly strict note-against-note style, to which Walter added interest "by means of a migrant *cantus firmus* (in the tenor, soprano, or bass; also in two canonically related parts)" and "by the use of textures as diversified as possible, including even imitative openings and five-part writing."[12] Each comprises six sections, being the even-numbered verses (the odd-numbered verses would have been sung in choral monophony, following contemporary practice).

The textless "fugues" of 1542 are actually canons, what came to be known as *fuga ligata* in the mid-sixteenth century. Only one of Walter's twenty-seven "fugues" is in the style of free imitation, and its heading draws attention to its uniqueness with the words: "*egregia fuga.*" Their intended use was primarily pedagogical, bearing the superscription "to young people, being especially easy to perform and practise," and noting that the canons were to be played "on any instruments of equal range, especially on cornetts."[13] It is probably unlikely that they were used as instrumental preludes: they were more than likely used in the preparation of young performers training to read music in the various modes.[14] Singers, too, could benefit from reading them using the contemporary practice of solmisation. Braun makes an interesting point about the publication of these textless pieces: Georg Rhau, the principal publisher in Germany, was known to take the position that music should be servant to the text. He did not publish Walter's canons, which nevertheless survived in manuscript form.[15]

Cantiones Septum Vocum (*S W* 5)

Walter wrote two *cantiones latinae* in seven voices: Psalm 119, *Beati immaculati*, in five sections; and Psalm 120 (Psalm 121 English Bible), *Levavi oculos meos*, in nine sections. Psalm 119 was written for the occasion of the dedication of the first church building built by Lutherans, the Castle Hartenfels, in Torgau on 5 October 1544. Luther

[12] Braun, xx.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., xxi.

[15] Ibid., xx.

himself read the sermon, and Prince John Frederick the Magnanimous and Philip Melanchthon were also present at the dedication. Walter's piece, which he also presented to Duke Albrecht of Prussia the next year, is a homage motet to the prince and the two reformers. Four tenor voices present a canon at the unison, while the descant provides melodic counterpoint. The bass voice alternates between the fundamental tone c, and g, reciting "Vive Luthere, vive Melanthon, vivite nostrae Lumina terrae, etc." The alto voice, on a single note throughout the composition, recites "Vivat, vivat Ioannes Friderich, vivat Elector et Dux Saxonum, etc." The use of the trumpet-like alternation in the bass voice may have been inspired by Dufay's Gloria *Et in terra pax*,[16] where the two upper voices carry out a canon, while the lower voices alternate c and g, adding the third of the triad in the fifth measure. Even more striking is the resemblance to Josquin's legendary composition (as described in Glarean's *Dodecachordon* of 1547), a setting of King Ludwig XII of France's favourite chanson, where a single-note part was provided for the King to sing (he was not very musical, we are told).[17]

The second composition for seven voices, Psalm 120 (121), also consists of a trumpet-like bass, alto on a single note, and tenors in canon. The first two verses of Psalm 145 (146) have been added, creating a nine-section composition. Probably the most interesting feature of this piece is the use of the first letters of each of the fifty-four verses to spell the following acronym: IOANNE VVALTHERO ELECTORIS SAXONIAE

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[16] Guillaume Dufay, "Et in terra ad modum tubae," in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, ed. Guido Adler and Oswald Koller (Graz: Akademische Druck–U. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), Jahrg. VII–Band 14 & 15, 145. Walter does not imitate Dufay, however, in his use of hocket (a device, often described as a "hiccup," where voices alternate from one to the other—while one voice is silent, the other fills the gap). Dufay's composition is an excellent example of hocket, where the voices in question alternate more and more quickly towards the end of the piece.

[17] Glarean, in addition to his famous anecdote, includes a textless edition of the piece, with the title "Ludovici Regis Franciae josca cantio 4 vocum," the "Jocose song of King Louis." Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, translation, transcription and commentary by Clement A. Miller, Musicological Studies and Documents 6 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), 284 and 547–8. The song appears with its text in the Heer *Liederbuch* (Codex 462 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen), "but with an attribution to Louis XI, who reigned 1461–1483. It bears the title *Carmen gallicum Ludov ici xi regis Francorum* and is dated Paris, 1510. The middle voice, notated as a single *maxima*, is called the contratenor and lack's [*sic*] Glarean's title of *vox regis*, while the other voices sing a humorous French text. Glarean also tells us that the song was sung in that language, but as usual does not give the text." Glarean, 33. A modern edition is provided by Arnold Gerring and Hans Trümpy, eds., *Das Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler 5 (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 92. The text reads: "Guillaume se va chaufer / Auprès de la cheminée / A ung petit de charbon / Qui ne fait point de fumée."

SIMPHONISTA AVTORE TORGAE (Author Johann Walter, composer to the Elector of Saxony, Torgau).

Magnificat octo tonorum (*S W* 5)

The Magnificats of 1557 are the result of many revisions of the 1540 version. They are a polyphonic collection of pieces for two, four, five, and six voices, and contain one setting of the Magnificat for each of the eight modes. One setting (in the sixth mode) was sent by Johann Walter to Duke Christian of Württemburg in 1554, to be performed by his "highly reputable"[18] *Hofkantorei* in Stuttgart. The complete edition was sent to the Duke sometime after the pieces had been published together in 1557. This collection, which Otto Schröder considers to be the apex of Walter's work, consists of fifty-two movements (each setting contains five, six, or seven movements): "two are two-voiced, 25 four-voiced, 12 five-voiced, and 13 six-voiced."[19] It is an example of the later work of Walter, to be compared with his final composition, *Das Christlich Kinderlied.*

Das Christlich Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri Erhalt uns HErr etc. (*S W* 6)

Walter's collection of 1566 was printed by Johann Schwertel in Wittenberg, and was presented to the Ernestine Duke John William. It is a collection of twelve hymns gathered around Luther's *Erhalt uns Herr* (Preserve us, Lord), with a theme of protection against heresy similar to Walter's 1564 poem, *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica.* The pieces are scored for four to six voices, and are primarily in German (although three Latin pieces are present). They are polyphonic *cantus firmus* settings, with some repeated text and use of word-painting. The collection concludes with the hymn *Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost* (O Sweetest Comfort of my Heart), a progressive motet with a text in the style of the Song of Solomon. According to Joachim Stalmann, its musical qualities anticipate the technique of the *Weihnachtsliedlein* of Leonhardt Schröter (1586/7) with its harmonic simplicity and varied vocal texture.[20]

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[18] Otto Schröder, forward to *S W* 5:viii.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Stalmann, xxi, n.43.

Anonymous and Apparently Spurious Compositions (*SW* 6)

Nineteen pieces attributed to Walter in the *Werke* bear no signature or reference to him as author in any extant sources. These are both Latin and German compositions, for four to six voices. Alternately, those pieces which have previously been ascribed to Walter but are now known to be spurious are listed in the preface to Volume Six.

The Poems Without Music (*SW* 6)

Volume Six of Walter's *Werke* also includes the poetry written by Walter which has no musical accompaniment. These include: a motto from the title of the *Gothaer Cantionale*; the "two poems in praise of music 1538 and 1564; two epitaphs on the death of Luther (1546) and John Frederick the Magnanimous (1556); three didactic and polemical poems in defense of Luther's doctrine and in refutation of the doctrine of free will, which appeared in 1564; and one thanksgiving (grace at table) of 1572."[21] A translation of the 1538 poem, *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica*, is given in Appendix D.

A Selection in Detail: *Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost*

As noted above, *Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost* (O Sweetest Comfort of my Heart) is the final hymn in the collection gathered around Luther's *Erhalt uns Herr* (Preserve us, Lord). This particular piece is of significant interest because of its seemingly secular text, which reads like a love song.[22] Both Luther and Walter were clear on their view of "carnal and lascivious songs," and even theorists like Coclico warn against "vile uses." Yet this piece was included in a collection which was not only presented to Duke John William for use in court, but was also owned by the Torgau *Kantorei*, who presumably performed it in Church services.

The text itself is framed by an equal amount of what seems to be frantic justification for its use. Walter provides an explanation in rhyming couplets, alternating German and Latin, insisting that this is a song about love for Jesus Christ. The implication is that Walter is very much concerned that the song might be misconstrued. One might wonder

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[21] Stalmann, xxv.

[22] For a translation of the text, see Appendix E.

why he would write such a song in the first place, that being the case. The answer comes from Scripture itself, from the Song of Solomon.

The Song of Solomon is very much like Walter's text in its character. What seem to be erotic words describe the bride's body in detail, with a number of comparisons to various flora and fauna. In his exposition of the Song of Solomon,[23] Luther indicates a reluctance on the part of scholars to deal with this difficult and obscure text. But in the face of erroneous interpretations by those who "think it is a love song about the daughter of Pharaoh beloved by Solomon" or about "the union of God and the synagog," Luther desires to offer his own interpretation, framed by the whole of Scripture.[24] His criteria are twofold: instruction in doctrine, and consolation. These are criteria which are in agreement with the doctrine of justification.

Luther summarizes his interpretation succinctly in his preface:

> But to get at the simplest sense and the real character of this book, I think it is a song in which Solomon honors God with his praises; he gives Him thanks for his divinely established and confirmed kingdom and government; he prays for the preservation and extension of this his kingdom, and at the same time he encourages the inhabitants and citizens of his realms to be of good cheer in their trials and adversities and to trust in God, who is always ready to defend and rescue those who call upon him.[25]

The text is also political in nature: "For this is the custom with kings and princes: they compose and sing amatory ballads which the crowd takes to be songs about a bride or a sweetheart, when in fact they portray the condition of their state and people with their songs."[26] Luther goes on to interpret the text allegorically, with the bridegroom being God and the bride as the Church.

Tinctoris, as we have seen above, also reflects this interpretation of the Song of Solomon, indicating that is is a veiled affirmation of the beauty of music:

> Therefore he [God] desires to hear from his beloved spouse, which the faithful believe the church to be, the sweetness of the voice that only music can produce. For he talks to her through Solomon thus [Solomon's Song, 2:14]: 'Let me hear thy voice', as if he were saying: 'Because your voice is sweet, that is, melodious, I

[23] *Lectures on the Song of Solomon*, delivered between 7 March 1530 and 22 June 1531, and published in 1539. *LW* 15:191–264.

[24] *LW* 15:194.

[25] Ibid., 191.

[26] Ibid., 193.

> desire you to let me hear it.' And God would not desire to hear the sweetness of the voice if it did not delight him in any way.[27]

Walter's poem, while less political than Solomon's, is also an allegory based on the bridegroom Christ and his bride the Church. The text is written from the perspective of the bride, as a love poem of praise for her beloved, Christ. Many of the metaphors include references to various spices, which may in themselves be allegories, but in a more general sense are metaphors for the mysteries of faith. Luther describes it thus: "These things are perceived only by smell, in order to express the mystery of faith, namely, that God dwells among His people through a fragrance, that is, through His Word and his name."[28] The more explicit passages can be explained through references to the faith: "To kiss is to give the Word, to possess the Gospel."[29] Luther warns against taking the text too literally in the case of the Song of Solomon:

> It is said that among the Jews it was forbidden for adolescents to read this book. There are some who suppose that this prohibition was designed to prevent adolescents becoming inflamed to lust by reading it.
>
> For myself, however, I think it was forbidden rather for its difficulty, for since it speaks politically throughout, it seems to be of no value for the young, who as yet have no use for worldly affairs. For even adolescents are capable of hearing and speaking about young women without concupiscence if they regard them as God's creation. And the Holy Spirit has a chaste mouth and a pure heart.
>
> Accordingly, He is here speaking about the genital members as about His own creation, which our flesh and concupiscence misuse by their own fault, not by that of the Holy Spirit. I say this so that no one will be offended by this text, which seems to be rather amatory.[30]

Luther's words can also be applied to Walter's poem: the reason the reader might find the poem to be carnal is because of his own sinfulness. Walter seems very aware of that danger, and takes great pains to frame the song with words that confirm that it is a song about faith, not sinful desire. Taken in this light, the song is a very beautiful expresssion of consolation, wholly appropriate and in accord with the doctrine of justification.

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[27] Tinctoris, *Complexus effectum musices*, 39.

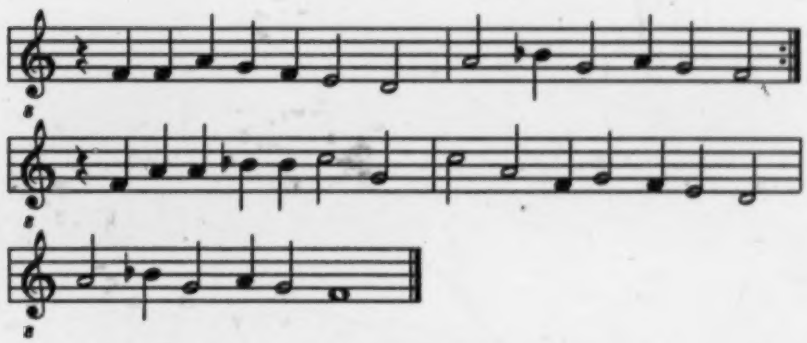
[28] *LW* 15:208.

[29] Ibid., 254.

[30] Ibid., 249.

On the Affect of the Modes[31]

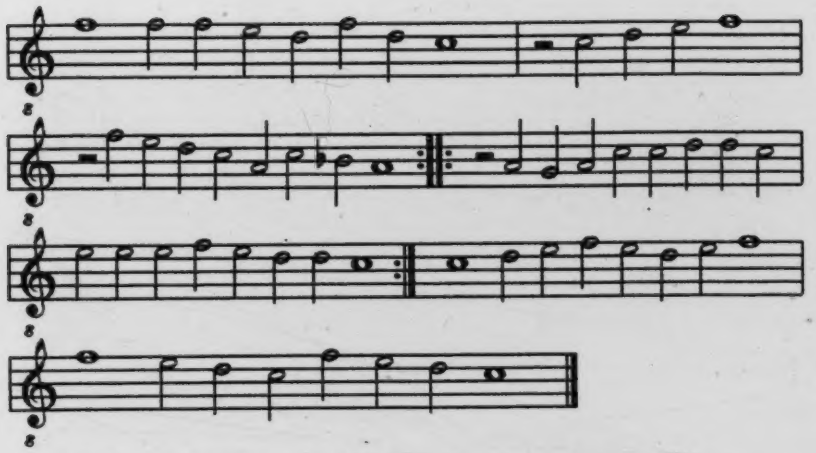
Walter's treatment of *Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost* demonstrates the setting of an apparently secular text to a newly composed melody in a manner that is suitable for sacred use. Walter also addresses the opposite problem in his music: the setting of a clearly sacred text to a previously existing secular melody. From the approximately 100 different melodies appearing in Walter's *Gesangbücher*, four are designated as having their origin in secular *Volkslieder*. The secular melodies are used for: *Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn* (I,19); the paired set *O Gott Vater, du hast Gewalt* and *Sünder, dein Wort erhör ich nicht* (I, 31–32); *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (I, 72); and, *Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben* (I, 73). The modes used for the melodies are, respectively: Hypolydian (ex. 1); Hypomixolydian (ex. 2) and Lydian (ex. 3); Dorian (ex. 4); and, Dorian (ex. 5). While hardly providing any conclusive evidence, it is interesting that none of the melodies uses the Hypophrygian mode. This mode, as we have been told by Burtius and Finck, is the one which incites the passions.[32]



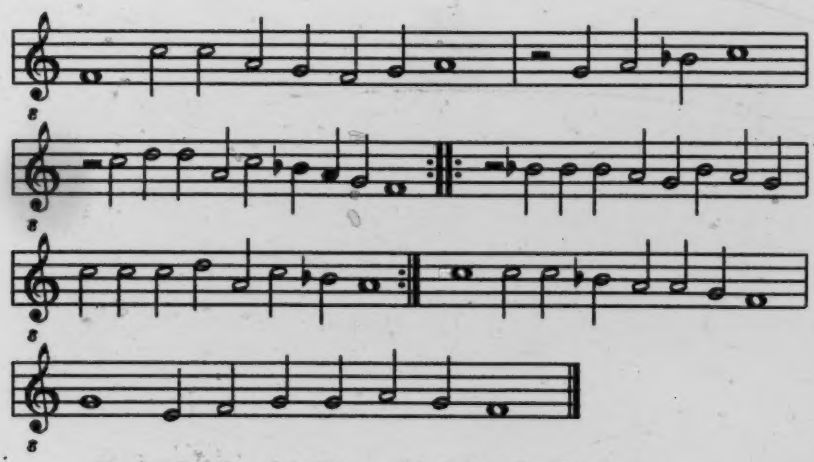
Ex. 1. *Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn* (Hypolydian)

[31] It should be noted here that determining the mode of a piece in the sixteenth century involves more than consideration of interval relations, *ambitus* (range) and predominant pitches (such as the *tenor* and *finalis*). Modal theory also includes melodic figurations, which contribute to the overall mood or style of a particular mode. See Powers for a thorough discussion of modes and an extensive bibliography.

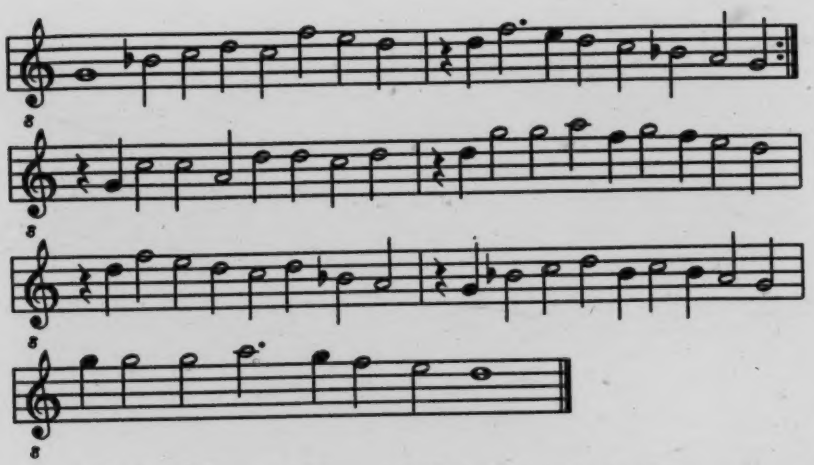
[32] It would be interesting to survey the entire contemporary literature for the use of secular *Volkslieder* to determine what modes, if any, were avoided altogether. Such a pursuit is beyond the scope of this thesis, however.



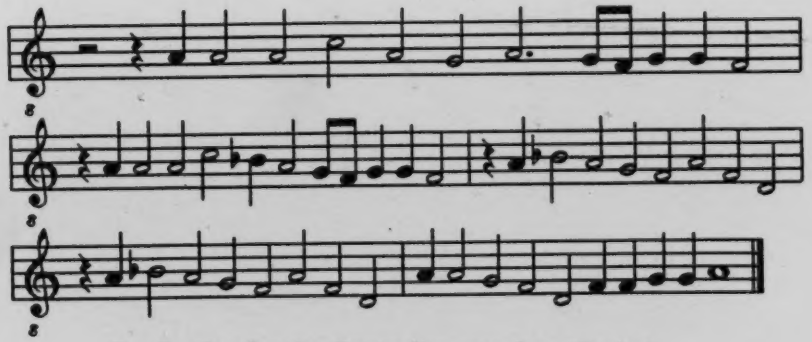
Ex.2. *O Gott Vater, du hast Gewalt* (Hypomixolydian)



Ex.3. *Sünder, dein Wort erhör ich nicht* (Lydian)



Ex.4. *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (Dorian)



Ex. 5. *Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben* (Dorian)

Of all the modes, Hypophrygian seems to be the least appropriate for sacred music. Phrygian and Mixolydian, too, with their "bold characters," would also seem somewhat inappropriate. Nevertheless, they are used by Walter, as can be seen most clearly in his settings of the Magnificat in all eight modes. While some modes may be more or less appropriate, when attached to a sacred text they are perfectly suitable for Divine Service. Luther and Walter would concur: it is the text, and not the melody, which makes a hymn sacred or secular.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

Johann Walter was an important figure in the history of the music of the early Lutheran Church. His melodies were to be used as *cantus firmi* by succeeding generations of composers, and are still in use in many Lutheran hymnals today. His close association with Luther and their agreement on theological matters is of special interest, providing an insight into the motives behind some of Walter's musical decisions. These motives tend to be falsely represented in the musicology of this century, painting both Luther and Walter as great innovators at the cost of tradition. It is clear that the important issue for both men was not reform, but conformity to the doctrine of justification.[1]

By keeping the theology of the reformers in mind, the impetus behind all musical reforms becomes very clear. Whereas the designation of matters like music as *adiaphora* might imply a certain freedom of reform, radical measures are tempered by the doctrine of justification and concern for fellow Christians. Even the matter of sacred as opposed to secular styles is subservient to these fundamentally theological concerns. Musicians today have much to learn from the example of the reformers when it comes to new music to be used in Divine Service. If theology is not to be the primary consideration (as Luther would have it), it ought at least to be equally entwined with musical considerations. It must never by eclipsed by them. The affect of the music to be used should be considered carefully with fellow Christians in mind, so as not to offend nor draw souls to carnal associations.

No study of Walter or the music of the Lutheran Church is complete without reference to the underlying theology, especially the doctrine of justification. The Church that came about as a result of theological reform has also produced a wealth of music which has always been based on, and indebted to, matters of theology.

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[1] Even one of the most frequently cited books on the music of the Lutheran Church fails to emphasize this important theological point: Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974) trans. of *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1965).

APPENDIX A

LUTHER'S PREFACE TO THE *GEISTLICHES GESANGBÜCHLEIN* (1524): TWO TRANSLATIONS

That it is good and God pleasing to sing hymns is, I think, known to every Christian; for everyone is aware not only of the example of the prophets and kings in the Old Testament who praised God with song and sound, with poetry and psaltery, but also of the common and ancient custom of the Christian church to sing Psalms. St. Paul himself instituted this in I Corinthians 14 [:15] and exhorted the Colossians [3:16] to sing spiritual songs and Psalms heartily unto the Lord so that God's Word and Christian teaching might be instilled and implanted in many ways.

Therefore I, too, in order to make a start and to give an incentive to those who can do better, have with the help of others compiled several hymns, so that the holy gospel which now by the grace of God has arisen anew may be noised and spread abroad.

Like Moses in his song [Exod. 15:2], we may now boast that Christ is our praise and song and say with St. Paul, I Corinthians 2 [:2], that we should know nothing to sing or say, save Jesus Christ our Savior.

And these songs were arranged in four parts to give the young - who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts - something to wean them away from love ballads and carnal songs and to teach them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing, as is proper for youth. Nor am I of the opinion that the Gospel should destroy and blight all the arts, as some of the pseudo-religious claim. But I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who gave and made them. I therefore pray that every pious Christian would be pleased with this [the use of music in the service of the gospel] and lend his help if God has given him like or greater gifts. As it is, the world is too lax and indifferent about teaching and training the young for us to abet this trend. God grant us his grace. Amen.[1]

Every Christian knows that the practice of singing spiritual songs is wholesome and well-pleasing unto God, for everybody knows that not only the prophets and kings of Israel (who praised God with vocal and instrumental music, with songs and stringed instruments), but also the early Christians, who sang especially psalms, used music already in the early stages of the Church's history. Indeed, St. Paul encouraged the use of music 1 Cor. 14, and in his epistle to the Colossians he insists that Christains appear before God with psalms and spiritual songs which emanate from the heart, in order that through these the Word of God and Christian doctrine may be preached, taught, and put into practice.

Bearing all this in mind, I, together with several others, have collected a number of spiritual songs in order that a beginning might be made to prepare and gather such material and also that others, whose ability is greater than ours, be induced to do such work. This should be done that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which through God's grace is now again being proclaimed, might be set going and spread among men. Thus shall we, as did Moses in his famous Song (Exod. 15), derive satisfaction from the fact that Christ is the theme of our songs of praise, and thus shall we indicate

[1] *LW* 53:315-316.

that we desire to sing and to tell that Christ alone is our Saviour, as St. Paul says 1. Cor. 2.

The music is arranged in four parts. I desire this particularly in the interest of the young people, who should and must receive an education in music as well as in the other arts if we are to wean them away from carnal and lascivious songs and interest them in what is good and wholesome. Only thus will they learn, as they should, to love and appreciate what is intrinsically good. I am not of the opinion that because of the Gospel all arts should be rejected violently and vanish, as is desired by the heterodox, but I desire that all arts, particularly music, be employed in the service of Him who has given and created them. I pray, therefore, that every pious Christian would approve of what I have said and, if God has endowed him with the necessary talents and ability, help further the cause. Unfortunately the world has become lax towards the real need of its youth and has forgotten to train and educate its sons and daughters along the proper lines. The welfare of our youth should be our chief concern. God grant us His grace. Amen.[2]

[2] Buszin, "Luther on Music," 87.

APPENDIX B
COMPARISON OF THE FIVE *GESANGBÜCHER*

The following chart, adapted from *SW* 3, 88-97, lists each hymn setting included in any or all of the first five editions of Walter's *Gesangbücher*, sorted by location in *SW* (Roman numerals indicate volume number, arabic are sequential numberings of the items in that volume). If the location of the *cantus firmus* is known, it is given, as well as the number of voices. The final five columns indicate the order of the pieces in the various editions. Sources are given for the text and melody where known, as well as a general topic or scripture reference. An alphabetical index to the hymn titles follows the comparative chart.

Otto Schröder gives the following sources for his research, some of which are mentioned by surname only in the chart:

Bäumker, Wilhelm. *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen von den fruhesten Zeiten....* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1883-91, 1911.

Fischer, Albert. *Kirchenlieder-lexicon: Hymnologisch-literarische Nachweisungen über ca. 4500 der wichtigsten und verbreitetsten Kirchenlieder aller Zeiten in alphabetischer Folge nebst einer übersicht der Liederdichter.* Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1878, Supplement 1886.

Gerber, Rudolf. "Zu Luthers Liedweisen." In: *Festschrift Max Schneider zur 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Hans Joachim Zingel and Arnold Schering, 26-39. Eisleben: E. Schneider, 1935.

Kade, Otto. *Der neuaufgefundene Luther-Codex von Jahre 1530.* Dresden: H. Klemm, [1872].

Kümmerle, Salomon. *Enzyclopädie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik.* Güttersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1888-95.

Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Weimar: H. Bohlau, 1883-. The "Weimarer" edition of Luther's works, volume 35 (1923). Cited as *WA* XXXV.

Moser, Hans Joachim. "Die Singweisen" V, p.485-531; and "Die angeblich Lutherschen Tönsatze" VI, p.533-547. *WA.*

Rambach, August Jakob. *Über D. Martin Luthers Verdienst um den Kirchengesang: oder Darstellung desjenigen, was er als Liturg, als Liederdichter und Tonsetzer zur Verbesserung des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes geleistet hat ; nebst einem aus den Originalen genommenen Abdrucke sämmtlicher Lieder und Melodien Luthers, wie auch der Vorreden zu seinem Gesangbuche.* Hamburg: Bohnische Buchhandlung, 1813.

Spitta, Friedrich. *"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." Die Lieder Luthers in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1905.

Wackernagel, Philipp. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis du Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig: B. G. Tübner, 1864-77.

Zahn, Johannes. *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt von Johannes Zahn.* Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889-93.

Zelle, Friedrich. *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.* Berlin: R. Gärtners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895-97; *Geschichte des Chorals: Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott.* Berlin: R. Gärtners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898; *Die Singweisen der ältesten evangelischen Lieder.* Berlin: R. Gärtners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899, 1900; *Das erste evangelische Choralbuch (Lucas Osiander 1586).* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1903; *Das älteste Lutherische Haus-Gesangbuch.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Kommentar, 1903.

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 1	*Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*	D	4	2	2	1	1	1
	Text: Luther—*Veni sancte spiritus*, sequence for Pentecost							
	Melody: Early church							
	Topic: Pentecost							
I 2	*Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist*	?	4	33	33	2	2	2
	Text: Luther—*Veni creator spiritus*, hymn for Pentecost							
	Melody: Early church, with melismatic additions							
	Topic: Pentecost							
I 3	*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*		4			3	3	3
	Text: Luther's alteration of an old Corpus Christi text, but used more for processions than for High Mass							
	Melody: Likewise pre-Reformational							
	Topic: Post-communion song of thanks							
I 4	*Ein neues Lied wir heben an*	T	4	6	6	4	4	4
	Text: Luther—on the martyrdom of Augustian monks Heinrich Voes and Johann ven den Eschen, on the 1 July 1523 at Brussels							
	Melody: Kade has Walter as its inventor, but Fischer and Moser claim it was Luther							
	Topic: Martyrdom							
I 5	*Dein armer Hauf, Herr, tut klagen*	T	4	7	7	5	5	5
	Text: Walter—after a poem by Michael Styfel (Stifel, Stieffel) on Psalm 10							
	Melody: Walter—according to Zahn							
	Topic: Overthrow of the Wicked							
I 6	*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*	T	4	8	8	6	6	6
	Text: After Luther's setting of Psalm 12							
	Melody: Walter's is the earliest example of this much-used tune; Moser suggests that either Luther or Walter modelled it on an unknown folksong							
	Topic: Word of God or Christ's Church							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 7	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*	T	4	10	10	7	7	7
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter—based on the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* by Wipo of Burgundy (ca. 995–ca. 1050)							
	Topic: Easter							
I 8	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*	D	4			8	8	8
	Text: Luther—Psalm 67							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Psalm 67							
I 9	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*	T	4				9	9
	Text: Luther—Psalm 67							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Psalm 67							
I 10	*Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott*	T	4	13	13	9	10	10
	Text: Eckart Hegenwalt—Psalm 51, 5 verses							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Penitence, Psalm 51							
I 11	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*		4			10	11	11
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
I 12	*Mensch willst du leben seliglich*	T	4	19	19	11	12	12
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter—begins the same as *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 13	*Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ*	T	4	22	22	12	13	13
	Text: Stanza 1 pre-Reformational, Stanzas 2–7 by Luther Melody: Walter and Luther—based on a 15th-century religious folk song, improved and printed in this form on loose sheets Topic: Christmas							
I 14	*Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ*		4				14	14
	Text: Stanza 1 pre-Reformational, Stanzas 2–7 by Luther Melody: Walter and Luther—based on a 15th-century religious folk song, improved and printed in this form on loose sheets Topic: Christmas							
I 15	*Aus tiefer not*	T	4	4	4	13	15	15
	Text: Luther—Psalm 130 Melody: Walter—a Phrygian melody of which an Ionian version appeared in 1525 Topic: Penitence, Psalm 130							
I 16	*Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht* (cf. III 12.2)		4			14	16	16
	Text: Luther—Psalm 128 Melody: Walter—on hearing Luther's setting (III 12.2) Topic: Psalm 128							
I 17	*Fröhlich wollen wir Alleluja singen*	T	4	25	25	15	17	17
	Text: Johannes Agricola (ca. 1560/70; d. after 1601) Melody: Walter—probably Topic: Psalm 117							
I 18	*Wär Gott nicht mit uns*		4			16	18	18
	Text: Luther—Psalm 124 Melody: Walter—with typical Luther characteristics, probably from 1524 no. 28 (III 14) Topic: Psalm 124							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 19	*Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn*	T	4	29	29	17	19	19
	Text: Elisabeth Creutziger—5 stanzas							
	Melody: Based on a secular folk melody which can be found in the Lochamer *Liederbuch*							
I 20	*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*	T	4	36	34	18	20	20
	Text: Paul Speratus							
	Melody: Walter, oldest source is a broadsheet from 1523							
	Topic: Justification (Romans 3:28)							
I 21	*Eine Feste Burg*		4				21	21
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Luther							
	Topic: Psalm 46							
I 22	*Eine Feste Burg, ad aequales*		4				22	22
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Luther							
	Topic: Psalm 46							
I 23	*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*		4			19	23	23
	Text: Luther's rewriting of a pre-Reformation *Lied*							
	Melody: Nicolaus von Cosel (1417)—earliest source							
	Topic: German Creed							
I 24	*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*		4				24	24
	Text: Luther's rewriting of a pre-Reformation *Lied*							
	Melody: Nicolaus von Cosel (1417)—earliest source							
	Topic: German Creed							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 25	*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*		4				25	25
	Text: Luther's rewriting of a pre-Reformation *Lied*							
	Melody: Nicolaus von Cosel (1417)—earliest source							
	Topic: German Creed							
I 26	*Christ ist erstanden*		4			20	26	26
	Text: 12th–13th-century *Kirchenlied* (one strophe)							
	Melody: Expanded and made uniform by Walter							
	Topic: Easter							
I 27	*Christ ist erstanden (ad D.A.T.B.)*		4					27
	Text: 12th–13th-century *Kirchenlied* (one strophe)							
	Melody: Expanded and made uniform by Walter							
	Topic: Easter							
I 28	*Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not (umgearbeitet)*		4			21	28	28
	Text: Paul Speratus							
	Melody: Walter, 1524 no.37							
	Topic: Penitence							
I 29	*Vater unser in Himmelreich, Auf Bergreihenweis, ad aequales*		4				29	29
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: possibly Luther							
I 30	*Wo Gott der Herr nich bei uns hält*		4				30	30
	Text: Justus Jonas—a counterpart to Luther's *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit*; corrected by Luther himself.							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Psalm 124							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 31	*O Gott Vater, du hast Gewalt*		4				31	31
	Text: Contrafactum on a secular *Lied* by Hans Sachs, *Ach, Jupiter, hetst duß gewalt, christlich verendert*							
	Melody: Presumably allied with the secular *Lied*							
	Topic: Christ & sinner converse (no. 1)							
I 32	*Sünder, dein Wort erhör ich nicht*		4				32	32
	Text: Contrafactum on a secular *Lied* by Hans Sachs, *Ach, Jupiter, hetst duß gewalt, christlich verendert*							
	Melody: Presumably allied with the secular *Lied*							
	Topic: Christ & sinner converse (no. 2)							
I 33	*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist*	T	5	1	1	23	33	33
	Text: Luther, based on a sermon by Berthold von Regensburg (d. 1272)							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational, probably German							
	Topic: Pentecost							
I 34	*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist*		6					34
	Text: Luther, based on a sermon by Berthold von Regensburg (d. 1272)							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational, probably German							
	Topic: Pentecost							
I 35	*Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot*	T	5	18	18	24	34	35
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter, from a 13th-century German source							
I 36	*Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot*		4					36
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter, from a 13th-century German source							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 37	*Nu komm der Heiden Heiland*	T	5	20	20	25	35	37
	Text: Luther's rendering of a Latin hymn *Veni redemptor gentium* by Bishop Ambrose of Milan (d. 397)							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Advent							
I 38	*Christum wir sollen loben schon*	T	5	21	21	26	36	38
	Text: Luther's rendering of *A solis ortus cardine* by Cajus Caelius Sedulius of Achaia (mid-5th century)							
	Melody: Latin, copied from the original hymn by Walter							
	Topic: Christmas							
I 39	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn*	T	5	23	23	27	37	39
	Text: Luther, who improved upon Johann Hus' version							
	Melody: Johann Hus—*Jesus Christus, nostra salus, quod reclamat omnis malus*							
	Topic: Communion							
I 40	*Es spricht der Unweisen Mund*	T	5	30	30	28	38	40
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Psalm 14							
I 41	*In Gott gelaub ich*		5	38	38	29	39	41
	Text: Paul Speratus							
	Melody: Walter							
I 42	*Durch Adams Fall*	T	5	16	16	30	40	42
	Text: Lazarus Spengler							
	Melody: probably Walter							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 43	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand*		5			31	41	43
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
I 44	*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*		5			32	42	44
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Luther or Walter—uncertain							
	Topic: Nunc Dimittis							
I 45	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*		5			33	43	45
	Text: Luther—1st strophe pre-Reformational, reworked by Luther, others added by him							
	Melody: Walter—based on a pre-Reformational melody, reworked by Luther							
	Topic: Burial							
I 46	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*		5				44	46
	Text: Luther—1st strophe pre-Reformational, reworked by Luther, others added by him							
	Melody: Walter—based on a pre-Reformational melody, reworked by Luther							
	Topic: Burial							
I 47	*Nu laßt uns den Leib begraben*		4					47
	Text: original text by Michael Weiße							
	Melody: Walter							
I 48	*Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*	T	5	34	35	34	45	48
	Text: Luther's reworking of a pre-Reformational *Lied*							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational origins, improved upon by Luther, Walter, or both							
	Topic: Trinity							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 49	*Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*		4					49
	Text: Luther's reworking of a pre-Reformational *Lied*							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational origins, improved upon by Luther, Walter, or both							
	Topic: Trinity							
I 50	*Ein Kindelein so löbelich*		5			35	46	50
	Text: Pre-Reformational							
	Melody: Same as *Der Tag ist so freudenreich*, pre-Reformational source in Latin hymn *Dies est laetitiae*							
	Topic: Christmas							
I 51	*Joseph, lieber Joseph mein*		5				47	51
	Text: Fragment of a pre-Reformational *Josephliedes*,							
	Melody: Walter—same as *Resonet in laudibus*, the well-known *Quempas* of the school choir							
I 52	*Jesaia dem Propheten*		5			36	48	52
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Luther, as affirmed by Walter. Oldest source: Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (1526)							
	Topic: Sanctus (Isaiah 6:1–4)							
I 53	*Vater unser, der du bist*		5			37	49	53
	Text: Walter							
	Melody: Walter							
I 54	*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*		6			38	50	54
	Text: Luther's rewriting of a pre-reformation *Lied*							
	Melody: Nicolaus von Cosel (1417)—earliest source							
	Topic: German Creed							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 55	***Christ ist erstanden***		6			39	51	55.1
	Text: 12th–13th-century *Kirchenlied* (one strophe)							
	Melody: Expanded and made uniform by Walter							
	Topic: Easter							
I 56	***Christ ist erstanden, Auf Bergreihenweis***		3					56
	Text: 12th–13th-century *Kirchenlied* (one strophe)							
	Melody: Expanded and made uniform by Walter							
	Topic: Easter							
I 57	***Gnad mir, Herr, ewiger Gott***		5				52	57
	Text: The famous *Markgraf-Georg-Lied* (Georg Markgraf of Brandenburg)							
	Melody: Walter							
I 58	a) ***Da pacem Domine*** b) ***Verleih uns Frieden***		5				53	58
	Text: a) 6th–7th-century *Antiphona pro pace* b) Luther (2 Kings 20:19)							
	Melody: Probably based on *Veni redemptor gentium*							
I 59	***Kühn ist der Mann***		5				54	59
	Text: Possibly Walter (Kunigund)							
	Melody: Possibly Walter							
I 60	***Johanns Ernst bin ich getauft***		5				55	60
	Text: Possibly Walter (Johanns Ernst Herzog von Sachsen)							
	Melody: Possibly Walter							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 61	*Erweckt hat mir das Herze mein*		5				55.2	61
	Text: Possibly Walter (Elisabeth)							
	Melody: Possibly Walter							
I 62	a) *Da pacem Domine* [4th section in 5 voices] b) *Erhalt uns Herr*		4				56	62
	Text: a) 6th–7th-century *Antiphona pro pace* b) Luther							
	Melody: a) Probably based on *Veni redemptor gentium* b) Walter—based on *Veni redemptor gentium*							
	Topic: b) Children's song							
I 63	*O Vater unser, der du bist*		4				57	63
	Text: Source: a broadsheet—Walter, probably							
	Melody: Walter							
I 64	*Ich hoff auf Gott*		4				58	64
	Text: Probably Walter							
	Melody: Probably Walter							
I 65	*Mag ich Unglück nit widerstahn*		4				59	65
	Text: Thought to be Queen Maria of Hungary, wife of King Ludwig II (who fell in the 1526 battle of Mohac against the Turks), sister to Charles V							
	Melody: Presumably Walter							
I 66	*In Gottes Namen scheiden (fahren) wir*		4				60	66
	Text: Pre-Reformational pilgrimage *Lied*, 13th century							
	Melody: Walter, from a 13th-century German source							
	Topic: Pilgrimage							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 67	*In Gottes Namen fahren wir*		4					67
	Text: Pre-Reformational pilgrimage *Lied*, 13th century							
	Melody: Walter, from a 13th-century German source							
	Topic: Pilgrimage							
I 68	*Kann auch jemand der Sünden Band*		4				61	68
	Text: presumably Walter							
	Melody: presumably Walter							
I 69	*Kain sich aber regen tut*		4				62	69
	Text: probably Walter							
	Melody: probably Walter							
I 70	*Mein Gbet nimm auf, o Gott*		4				63	70
	Text: presumably Walter							
	Melody: presumably Walter							
I 71.1	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, Auf Bergreihenweis*		3					71.1
	Text: Luther, who improved upon Johann Hus' version							
	Melody: Johann Hus—*Jesus Christus, nostra salus, quod reclamat omnis malus*							
	Topic: Communion							
I 71.2	*Vom Himmel hoch, Auf Bergreihenweis*		3					71.2
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Christmas (Luke 2:1–14)							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
I 72	*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*		4					72
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter 1524 no.12, a copy of the folk-song *Aus hartem Weh klagt sich ein Held* (15th century)							
	Topic: Baptism (Matthew 3:13)							
I 73	*Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben*		4					73
	Text: Erasmus Alberus							
	Melody: possibly a secular folk-song							
	Topic: Matthew 24							
I 74	*Wohlauf, wohlauf mit lauter Stimm*		4					74
	Text: Walter							
	Melody: Walter							
II 1	*Deus qui sedes super thronum*	?	4	40	40	40	1	1
	Topic: Gradual, 4th Sunday after Whitsun							
II 2	*Multae tribluationes justorum*		4					2
	Topic: Psalm 33:20							
II 3	*Deus misereatur nostri*	?	4	41	41	41	2	3
	Topic: Psalm 66							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 4	*Beati eritis* Topic: Matthew 5:11 & 12		5					4
II 5	*Beati eritis* Topic: Matthew 5:11 & 12		4					5
II 6	*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* Topic: Psalm 117 German (Psalm 116)		4			42	3	6
II 7	*Te decet Hymnus deus* Text: *Dominica*: 11th Sunday after Pentecost Topic: Psalm 114:1–9		4				4	7
II 8	*Vox exsultationis* Topic: Psalm 117:15		6					8
II 9	*Vias tuas Domine demonstra* Melody: *Cantus firmus* perhaps by Walter Topic: Psalm 24:4		5				5	9

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 10	*Huc agite o populi* Text: Possibly Walter		5			51	6	10
II 11	*Verbum domini manet in aeternum* Melody: *Cantus firmus* probably by Walter Topic: 1 Peter 1:25		6			49	7	11
II 12	*Ecce dies venient* Topic: Jeremiah 31:31–34		4			43	8	12
II 13	*Nunc dimittis servum tuum* Topic: Luke 2:29–32		5			50	9	13
II 14	*Christe qui lux es et dies* Text: 7th-century hymn Melody: Chiefly the 7th-century melody, with some alterations by Walter, as required		6			53	11	15
II 15	*Christe qui lux es et dies* Text: 7th-century hymn Melody: Chiefly the 7th-century melody, with some alterations by Walter, as required		4				10	14

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 16	*Salva nos Domine vigilantes* Text: *Antiphona ad Completorium* Topic: Psalm 142:4		5			48	12	16
II 17	*Scriptum est enem* Topic: Matthew 26:31		6					17
II 18	*Cottidie (Quotidie) apud vos eram* Topic: Mark 14:49	?	5	42	42	46	13	18
II 19	*Vivo ego dicit Dominus* Topic: Ezekiel 33:11	T	5	43	43	47	14	19
II 20	*Insurrexerunt me* Melody: The *Altus secondus* (in *Vagans*) brings in another *cantus firmus*: *Ab homnibus inquis libera me* Topic: Psalm 26:12		6			52	15	20
II 21	*Cum rex gloriae* Text: *Responsorium: Christi Höllenfahrt*, the well-known *Canticum triumphale*		4				16	21

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 22	*Festum nunc celebre* Text: Hymn *In ascensione Domini, ad matutinum* by Hrabanus Maurus		4				18	23
II 23	*Festum nunc celebre* Text: Hymn *In ascensione Domini, ad matutinum* by Hrabanus Maurus	?	5	39	39	45	17	22
II 24	*Ascendo ad patrem* Text: John 20:17 Topic: Ascension		5				19	24
II 25	*Ascendo ad patrem* Text: Versicle on John 20:17 Topic: Ascension		6					25
II 26	*Ite in orbem universum* Text: Mark 16:15a, 16 Topic: Ascension		4				20	26
II 27	*Appararuerunt Apostolis* Topic: Acts 2:3		4				21	27

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 28	***Reple tuorum corda***		5				22	28
	Text: 11th century—this antiphon was sung before every Mass							
II 29	***O lux beata trinitas***		4				23	29
	Text: 5th c. hymn—*Dom. II post octavam epiphaniae*; 1551 bass part added: *Deo patri sit gloria eiusque soli filo cum Spirito paracleto* (Luther							
	Melody: Walter has added a melisma at the end of the cantus firmus in the Discant							
	Topic: Trinity							
II 30	***Inter natos mulierum***		5				24	30
	Text: Matthew 11:11, John 1:16, (Isaiah 40:3?)							
II 31	***Verbum caro factum est***		4				25	31
	Text: Text: John 1:14, Versus John 1:1							
II 32	***Regnum mundi et omnem, ad aequales***		4				26	32
	Topic: *Responsorium*							
II 33	***Te deum laudamus***		4				27	33
	Text: Ambrosius							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 34	***Bonum est homini***		5				28	34
	Text: 2nd part: *Honorabile igitur sit inter omnes coniugium* (Hebrews 13:4)							
	Topic: 1 Cor. 7: 1 & 2							
II 35	***Vere beatus et Deo***		4					35
	Text: Perhaps by Walter							
II 36	***In tribus spiritus meus***		5					36
	Topic: Jesus Sirach 25:1&2							
II 37	***Domine miserere, Christus Dominus***		5				29	37
	Topic: Phillippians 2:8							
II 38	***Domine miserere, Christus Dominus***		5				30	38
	Topic: Phillippians 2:8							
II 39	***Rex Christe factor omnium***		4				31	39
	Text: Gregory the Great (*Hymnus quadragesimalis*); Luther declares this hymn to be the very best							
	Melody: Walter used the ancient melody, only somewhat modified							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 40	*Exigius addit vires concordia* Text: Latin *Distichon*, perhaps by Walter		4				32	40
II 41	*Foelices ter et amplius (Laus Matrimonii ex Horatio)* Text: Horatius Flaccus, 13th ode of the 1st book, last strophe		5				33	41
II 42	*Sedit angelus ad sepulcrum (Crucifixum in carne. Nolite timere)* Topic: *Responsorium*		5				34	42
II 43	*Isti sunt sancti* Topic: *Responsorium de Martyribus*		5				35	43
II 44	*Non moriar sed vivam (Lectio)* Text: Luther's favourite text, over which he wrote the notes of the 8th mode while in the Castle at Coburg, and asked Ludwig Senfl to set it Topic: Psalm 117:17		5				36	44
II 45	*Sede a dextris meis (derselbe Tonsatz...)* Text: Cantus firmus in 2nd *Altus* (*Vagans*): *Ecce in nubibus coeli* Topic: Psalm 109:1		6					45

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
II 46	*Helius e vivis Eobanus*		5					46
	Text: Possibly by Walter							
II 47	*Salus populi ego sum*		5					47
	Text: Introit for *Dominica* 19th Sunday after Pentecost							
	Topic: Psalm 77							
III 3	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*	T	4	3	3			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Burial							
III 5	*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*	T	4	5	5			
	Text: Luther, adapted from a *Fronleichnamsgesang* [Corpus Christi]							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational							
	Topic: Communion							
III 6.1	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*	T	4	9	9			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Easter							
III 6.2	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*	T	5	11	11			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Easter							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
III 8	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*	T	4	12	12			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Walter							
	Topic: Psalm 67							
III 9	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*	?	4	14	14			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: No cantus firmus							
III 10.1	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*	?	3	15	15			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: *Achtliederbuch* (*Eitlich christlich Lieder*), 1524, no.1							
III 10.2	*Durch Adams Fall*	T	4	17	17			
	Text: Lazarus Spengler							
	Melody: Walter							
III 12.1	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn*	?	3	24	24			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Pre-Reformational							
III 12.2	*Wohl dem, der in Gottes Forchte steht*	T	4	26	26			
	Text: Luther							
	Melody: Possibly Luther							
	Topic: Psalm 128							

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
III 13	*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin* Text: Luther—Luke 2:29–32 Melody: Probably Luther Topic: Burial	T	4	27	27			
III 14	*Wär Gott nicht mit uns* Text: Luther Topic: Psalm 124	T	4	28	28			
III 15	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand* Text: Luther Melody: Walter	?	4	31	31			
III 16	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand* Text: Luther Melody: Walter	T	5	32	32			
III 17	*Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not* Text: Paul Speratus Melody: Walter	T	4	37	37			
III 19	*Wir glauben all an einen Gott* Text: Pre-Reformational *Lied*, rewritten by Luther Melody: Traceable to 1417	T	4	35	36			

SW	Title	CF	Voc.	Number in Edition 1524	1525	1537	1544	1551
III 21	*Christ ist erstanden, ad aequales*		4				27	

Text: 12th–13th-century *Kirchenlied* (one strophe)
Melody: Expanded and made uniform by Walter
Topic: Easter

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO HYMN TITLES

I 6	*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*
II 27	*Appararuerunt Apostolis*
II 25	*Ascendo ad patrem*
II 24	*Ascendo ad patrem*
I 15	*Aus tiefer not*
II 4	*Beati eritis*
II 5	*Beati eritis*
II 34	*Bonum est homini*
I 26	*Christ ist erstanden*
I 55	*Christ ist erstanden*
I 27	*Christ ist erstanden (ad D.A.T.B.)*
III 21	*Christ ist erstanden, ad aequales*
I 56	*Christ ist erstanden, Auf Bergreihenweis*
III 6.2	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*
III 6.1	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*
I 7	*Christ lag in Todes Banden*
I 72	*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*
II 15	*Christe qui lux es et dies*
II 14	*Christe qui lux es et dies*
I 38	*Christum wir sollen loben schon*
II 18	*Cottidie (Quotidie) apud vos eram*
II 21	*Cum rex gloriae*
I 58	a) *Da pacem Domine* b) *Verleih uns Frieden*
I 62	a) *Da pacem Domine* b) *Erhalt uns Herr*
I 5	*Dein armer Hauf, Herr, tut klagen*
II 3	*Deus misereatur nostri*
II 1	*Deus qui sedes super thronum*
I 35	*Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot*
I 36	*Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot*
II 37	*Domine miserere, Christus Dominus*
II 38	*Domine miserere, Christus Dominus*
III 10.2	*Durch Adams Fall*
I 42	*Durch Adams Fall*
II 12	*Ecce dies venient*
I 10	*Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott*
	Erhalt uns Herr see *Da pacem Domine* (I 62)
I 61	*Erweckt hat mir das Herze mein*
I 20	*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*
I 40	*Es spricht der Unweisen Mund*
I 8	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*
I 9	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*
III 8	*Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein*
II 40	*Exigius addit vires concordia*
I 21	*Eine Feste Burg*
I 22	*Eine Feste Burg, ad aequales*
II 23	*Festum nunc celebre*
II 22	*Festum nunc celebre*
II 41	*Foelices ter et amplius (Laus Matrimonii ex Horatio)*
I 17	*Fröhlich wollen wir Alleluja singen*
I 13	*Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ*

I 14	*Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ*
I 57	*Gnad mir, Herr, ewiger Gott*
I 48	*Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*
I 49	*Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*
I 73	*Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben*
III 5	*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*
I 3	*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*
II 46	*Helius e vivis Eobanus*
I 19	*Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn*
III 17	*Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not*
I 28	*Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not (umgearbeitet)*
II 10	*Huc agite o populi*
I 64	*Ich hoff auf Gott*
I 41	*In Gott gelaub ich*
I 67	*In Gottes Namen fahren wir*
I 66	*In Gottes Namen scheiden (fahren) wir*
II 36	*In tribus spiritus meus*
II 20	*Insurrexerunt me*
II 30	*Inter natos mulierum*
II 43	*Isti sunt sancti*
II 26	*Ite in orbem universum*
I 52	*Jesaia dem Propheten*
I 71.1	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, Auf Bergreihenweis*
III 16	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand*
I 43	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand*
III 15	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand*
I 39	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn*
III 12.1	*Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn*
I 60	*Johanns Ernst bin ich getauft*
I 51	*Joseph, lieber Joseph mein*
I 69	*Kain sich aber regen tut*
I 68	*Kann auch jemand der Sünden Band*
I 50	*Ein Kindelein so löbelich*
I 2	*Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist*
I 1	*Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*
I 59	*Kühn ist der Mann*
II 6	*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*
I 65	*Mag ich Unglück nit widerstahn*
I 70	*Mein Gbet nimm auf, o Gott*
I 12	*Mensch willst du leben seliglich*
III 13	*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*
I 44	*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*
I 45	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*
I 46	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*
III 3	*Mitten wir im Leben sind*
II 2	*Multae tribluationes justorum*
I 4	*Ein neues Lied wir heben an*
II 44	*Non moriar sed vivam (Lectio)*
I 33	*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist*
I 34	*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist*
I 11	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*
III 10.1	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*

III 9	*Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein*
I 37	*Nu komm der Heiden Heiland*
I 47	*Nu laßt uns den Leib begraben*
II 13	*Nunc dimittis servum tuum*
I 31	*O Gott Vater, du hast Gewalt*
II 29	*O lux beata trinitas*
I 63	*O Vater unser, der du bist*
II 32	*Regnum mundi et omnem, ad aequales*
II 28	*Reple tuorum corda*
II 39	*Rex Christe factor omnium*
II 47	*Salus populi ego sum*
II 16	*Salva nos Domine vigilantes*
II 17	*Scriptum est enem*
II 45	*Sede a dextris meis (derselbe Tonsatz...)*
II 42	*Sedit angelus ad sepulcrum (Crucifixum in carne. Nolite timere)*
I 32	*Sünder, dein Wort erhör ich nicht*
II 7	*Te decet Hymnus deus*
II 33	*Te deum laudamus*
I 29	*Vater unser in Himmelreich, Auf Bergreihenweis, ad aequales*
I 53	*Vater unser, der du bist*
II 31	*Verbum caro factum est*
II 11	*Verbum domini manet in aeternum*
II 35	*Vere beatus et Deo*
	Verleih uns Frieden see *Da pacem Domine* (I 58)
II 9	*Vias tuas Domine demonstra*
II 19	*Vivo ego dicit Dominus*
I 71.2	*Vom Himmel hoch, Auf Bergreihenweis*
II 8	*Vox exsultationis*
I 18	*Wär Gott nicht mit uns*
III 14	*Wär Gott nicht mit uns*
I 54	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*
I 25	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*
I 23	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*
I 24	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*
III 19	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*
I 30	*Wo Gott der Herr nich bei uns hält*
III 12.2	*Wohl dem, der in Gottes Forchte steht*
I 16	*Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht*
I 74	*Wohlauf, wohlauf mit lauter Stimm*

APPENDIX C

INDIVIDUAL GERMAN SONGS AND LATIN MOTETS NOT INCLUDED IN THE *CHORGESANGBÜCHER* (*SW* 3)

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Herzlich tut mich erfreuen (1552) Ein neuer Bergreihen vom dem jüngsten Tage und ewigem Leben	73
Wach auf, du deutsches Land (1561) Ein neues christlichs Lied, dadurch Deutschland zur Buße ermahnet	76

APPENDIX D

LOB UND PREIS DER LÖBLICHEN KUNST MUSICA DURCH H. JOHANN WALTER. WITTENBERG 1538.

Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica
Diewiel sich jedermann befleißt,
Die Kunst, zu welcher er geweist,
Zu loben sehr, mit Ruhmgeschrei,
Erzählt, wo sie herkommen sei,
So will ich auch zu dieser Fahrt
Von Musik-Kunst, so viel ich g'lahrt,
Ich Ehr und Stärk, was Nutz sie schafft,
Vermelden, wo ihr Grund behaft.
Nachdem der ewig gütig Gott
Den ersten Mensch geschaffen hat
Mit seinem Weib, sie beid gesetzt
In Gartens Lust, und ihm zuletzt,
Mit Ernst geboten und gesagt:
Das ist mein Will, undmir behagt:
Von allerlei Bäum in Garten
Sollst du essen und dich warten;
Allein von Baum, dadurch man kennt
Das Bös und Gut, so dich verblendt,
Sollst du nicht essen, sag ich dir.
Denn wo du wirst nicht folgen mir
Und welches Tags du davon ißt,
So bald gewiß des Todes bist.
Auf solch Gebot da kam die Schlang:
Mit List sie zu dem Wieb eindrang,
Mit süßen Worten sie betrog,
Daß sie die Frucht von Baum abzog
Und aß und gab auch ihrem Mann.
Ihr Augen wurden aufgetan,
Erkannten, daß sie nacket warn;
Die Sünd ihn' solchs tät offenbarn.
Erst sahen sie, wie sie hätten

In Praise of the Noble Art of Music
All those engaged in any art
Will highly praise its every part,
Tell where it came from, trace its rise,
And laud its virtues to the skies.
Thus I tell, adding to those throngs,
What art to *Musica* belongs,
Her status, power, the good she brings,
And from what noble roots she springs.
When our eternal gracious God
Had fashioned Adam from the sod
To give him joy throughout his life
In Eden's garden with his wife,
God told him: "Earnestly obey
What I command you here today:
Eat any fruit from any tree
That in this garden you may see
Except that tree whose fruit brings in,
Besides known good, the taste for sin.
I tell you, do not eat of it,
For when into that fruit you've bit
Against my will, at once will loom
Your sentence unto death and doom."
Thus God spoke. Then the serpent came
With honeyed guile to call Eve's name.
The wish to sin in her he woke;
So from the tree a fruit she broke
And urged the man to eat it too.
At once they saw God's word come true;
With sinner's eyes they saw as shame
Their nakedness, once free of blame.
And, knowing that they had transgressed

Gottes Gebot übertreten,
Fühlten, daß sie mußten sterben,
Ewiglich im Tod verderben.
Aller Gaben warn sie entblößt,
In der sie sich zuvor getröst.
Da jammert Gott ihr großes Leid,
Gedacht an sein Barmherzigkeit,
Sagt ihn'n zu, er wollt ihn'n geben
Durchs Weibes Sam' ewig Leben,
Das sie und auch ihr ganz Geschlecht
In solchem Samen würden g'recht,
Damit sie wiederum von Tod,
Aus Teufels Gwalt und großer Not
Errettet und gemachtet frei
Und dienten Gott im Geist dabei.
Auf das nu Gottes Gnad und Gunst,
Die er dem Menschen gar umsunst
Versprochen in seim Wort aus Lieb,
In stretem, frischem G'dächtnis blieb,
Dadurch das Herz mit Lust erregt,
Zu Gottes Lob und Preis bewegt,
Solch großem Schatze dankbar wär:
Dies ist die höchste Ursach schwer,
Warum Gott hat gegeben schnell
Die Musik-Kunst, des Lobs ein Quell.
Zum andern, weil der Mensch auf Erd
Viel Leid und Jammer haben werd,
Welchs ihm die Sünd nu angeerbt,
Dazu die ganz Natur verderbt,
Auf das des armen Liebes Kraft
Nicht gar verzehret würd sein Saft
Und etwas hätt, dadurch er sich
Erquicken möcht, doch wunderlich,
So hat Gott bald bei Adams Zeit
Die Musica zur Lust und Freud

The clear command of God the Blest,
They saw that they would have to die
And in eternal torment lie,
With all gifts since creation's dawn
And all God's goodnesses withdrawn.
But God's love from eternity
Had pity on their misery.
He promised them the Woman's Seed
To save them and their human breed
From sin, from Satan's wicked hands,
From mighty death's dark fiery bands.
That Seed would their Redeemer be
And for God's service set them free.
That such unmerited free grace
(Which God from love for all our race
Had promised in his Word) might be
Kept fresh in human memory
And move the heart to high delight
In praising God both day and night--
This is the weightiest reason why
God music did at once supply.
Then too, since sin acquired at birth
Would bring to Adam's seed on earth
Much woe and--earth itself now spoiled--
Small joy in all for which they toiled,
As antidote against that blight,
To keep man's life from wilting quite,
And also to rejoice the heart,
God soon supplied sweet music's art:
In Adam's lifetime God revealed
To Jubal this delightful field
And lent him power to invent
Both stringed and windblown instrument;
What Jubal taught, his sons taught theirs
And multitudes became his heirs.

Dem Jubal künstlich offenbart.
Der hat der Geiger, Pfeifer Art
Erfunden und sein Söhn gelehrt,
Dadurch die Kunst sich weit gemehrt.
Zwo Ursach hab ich itzt genannt,
Warum die Musik Gott gesandt.
Hieraus wird jeder merken wohl,
Wie man die Musik brauchen soll:
Aufs erst zu Gottes Lob und Ehr,
Danach dem Lieb zu Nutz und Lehr.
Dieweil dann diese Kunst fürwahr
Allein von Gott gegeben dar,
So hat sie ja gar hoch und weit
Für andern Ruhm und Adelheit.
Sie ist mit der Theologie
Zugleich von Gott gegeben hie.
Gott hat die Musik fein bedeckt
In der Theologie versteckt.[1]

I have just named two reasons why
God gave us music from on high.
Those reasons teach us we must use
The gift from heaven as God would choose:
By it let God be glorified;
Then let it be our help and guide.
Since this high art most certainly
Was given by God, as all can see,
It outshines other arts in name,
Nobility, and lasting fame.
For music and theology
Were given by God concurrently.
The former with its lovely sound
Was in the latter hidden found.
God let his peace on both arise
So that each might the other prize.[2]

[1] *SW* 6:153-6.

[2] Tr. F. Samuel Janzow, 1983. In: Schalk, 14-24.

APPENDIX E

HOLDSELIGER, MEIN'S HERZENS TROST [Translation mine]

Holdseliger, mein's Herzens Trost

Dies Liedlein, ob's wohl weltlich scheint,
Wird alles geistlich doch gemeint.
Nil tenet hic cantus,
  castis quod moribus obsit,
Hinc animae quisquis
  quae bona discat, habet.
Der Buhle dieses Liedes ist
Der wahre Gott, Herr Jesus Christ.
Harmonicis istis numeris cantantur amores
Christi, qui sumpsit virginis ossa Deus.
Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich hab,
Ist Christus, sein Gnad, Geist und Gab.
Suavior in terris non est, quam Christus, amator.
Illius est requies grata in amore mihi.
Dies Liedlein, ob's wohl weltlich scheint,
Wird alles geistlich doch gemeint.
Nil tenet hic cantus,
  castis quod moribus obsit,
Hinc animae quisquis
  quae bona discat, habet.
Dies Lied viel guter Kräuter nennt.
Wohl dem, der sie recht geistlich kennt.
Multa ferunt herbae secum mysteria nostrae.
Quae bene si studeas nosse,
  beatus eris.
Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich hab,
Ist Christus, sein Gnad, Geist und Gab.
Suavior in terris non est, quam Christus, amator.
Illius est requies grata in amore mihi.

Lovely comfort of my heart

This little song, while it appears to be secular,
Is nevertheless meant as sacred.
Nothing holds this song,
  which is praised for restraining monsters,
Hence that good thing keeps
  whatever souls with which it becomes aquainted.
The beloved of this song is
The true God, Lord Jesus Christ.
The harmonious measures herein sing of the love of Christ,
Who, being God, took on flesh by means of the Virgin.
The dearest beloved which I have,
Is Christ, his mercy, spirit and sacrifice.
Christ the beloved is not to kiss that which is in this world,
Of that is free requiem in love for me.
This little song, while it appears to be secular,
Is nevertheless meant as sacred.
Nothing holds this song,
  which is praised for restraining monsters,
Hence that good thing keeps
  whatever souls with which it becomes aquainted.
This song names many good herbs.
Well that which knows it quite spiritually.
Many things will be herbs, like our mysteries themselves.
With what good things will you be blessed,
  if you are diligent in ours.
The dearest beloved which I have,
Is Christ, his mercy, spirit and sacrifice.
Christ the beloved is not to kiss that which is in this world,
Of that is free requiem in love for me.

Holseliger, mein's Herzens Trost,
mein Blümlein von der Liebe,
dein Lieb mich hat aus Not erlöst;
darum will ich mich üben,
daß ich je länger je lieber dich
von Herzen möcht gewinnen,
bei dir mich freuen ewiglich,
in deiner Liebe brennen.
Mein Augentrost, mein's Herzens Licht,
mein Tausendschön und Leben,
Herzlieb, ich bitt, vergiß mein nicht,
wollst mir das Herzkraut geben,
daß ich in dir frisch wohlgemut
dein freundlich Wort kann merken.
Dein Trost mein Herz erfrischen tut,
gibt Lieb und Seele Stärke.
Dein Wort schmeckt süß wie Himmelsbrot,
gibt Kraft, wie Balsam pfleget;
es tröstet mich in aller Not,
mich auch erhält und träget.
Dein Kleider reichen lieblich schön
wie Spica und Lavendel,
wie Rosmarin und Marjoran,
wie Thymian und Quendel.

Der Buhle dieses Liedes ist
Der wahre Gott, Herr Jesus Christ.
Harmonicis istis numeris cantantur amores
Christi, qui sumpsit virginis ossa Deus.
Die Seel hält ihre Buhlschaft rein
Mit Christo, Gottes Sohn allein.
Ipsa anima aeterno Christo constanter adhaeret,
Hunc cupit, hunc optat, somniat atque colit.
Die Seel hält ihre Buhlschaft rein
Mit Christo, Gottes Sohn allein.

Lovely comfort of my heart,
my little flower of love
Your love has saved me from need;
For that reason I want to practise,
That I may win you from hearts,
the longer the better,
I may be pleased with you forever,
I may burn in your love.
The comfort of my eyes, the light of my heart,
my daisy and lives.
Sweetheart, I beg, forget me not,
you wanted to give me the heart-herb,
That I can observe freshly and cheerfully
your friendly word in you.
Your comfort does refresh my heart,
gives love and soul strength.
Your word tastes sweet like bread from heaven,
gives strength, comforts like a balm;
It comforts me in all need,
also receives me and carries me.
Your clothes extend delightfully beautifully
like spica and lavender,
Like rosmary and marjoram,
like thyme and quendel.

The dearest beloved which I have,
Is Christ, his mercy, spirit and sacrifice.
Christ the beloved is not to kiss that which is in this world,
Of that is free requiem in love for me.
The soul holds its beloved's stem purely
With Christ, God's only son.
The very soul adheres for eternity to Christ,
Desires this, prays for this, dreams and even worships.
The soul holds its beloved's stem purely
With Christ, God's only son.

Ipsa anima aeterno Christo constanter adhaeret,
Hunc cupit, hunc optat, somniat atque colit.
Dies Lied viel guter Kräuter nennt.
Wohl dem, der sie recht geistlich kennt.
Multa ferunt herbae secum mysteria nostrae.
Quae bene si studeas nosse,
beatus eris.
Wie lang die Seel im Glauben steht,
So lang die Buhlschaft reine geht.
Oscula donec homo Christo pia figet amanti,
Perpetuum sacri foedus amoris erit.
Dem Herren Christo singe ich
Dies Lied zu Ehren ewiglich.
Haec Christo Musisque cano, nam tempore nostro est
Optima res precibus Musica mixta piis.

Mein Ehrenpreis allein du bist,
mein Herzblum, die mich labet;
kein Mensch wiedu so schöne ist,
von Gottes Gnad begabet,
dein Angesicht ist wohlgestalte
und alle Glieder lieblich
deine Schöne und Tugend ungezählt,
ist alles an dir freundlich.
Lieb Äuglein und fein gilblich Haar hast du,
die mir gefallen;
dein Mund ist rot wie Purpur zwar,
der liebet mir vor allem,
ich denke an dich Tag und Nacht,
von deiner Lieb' ich singe,
mein Seel und Geist dein fröhlich lacht,
vor Freuden oft ich springe.
Mein höchster Schatz, ich bitte dich,
du wollst dich mein erbarmen;
gib mir dein' Kuß und herze mich,

The very soul adheres for eternity to Christ,
Desires this, prays for this, dreams and even worships.
This song names many good herbs.
Well that which knows it quite spiritually.
Many things will be herbs, like our mysteries themselves.
With what good things will you be blessed,
if you are diligent in ours.
As long as the soul remains in the belief,
The beloved's stem is pure.
Kiss affectionately while man crucifies the faithful for Christ,
It will constantly be love's offence of a sacred thing.
I sing this song forever
In honor of the Lord Christ.
I sing this music to Christ, for it is our time.
The best thing for intercession is music mixed with faith.

You alone are my special prize,
the flower of my heart, which refreshes me.
No person is as beautiful as you,
endowed in God's mercy.
Your countenance is well-proportioned
and all your limbs are lovely.
Your beauty and virtue is immeasurable,
everything in you is kind.
You have sweet little eyes and finely yellowed hair,
which I like.
Your mouth is red like purple of course,
which is dearest to me above all.
I think about you day and night,
I sing about your love.
My soul and spirit laugh cheerfully for you,
I often jump for joy.
My greatest treasure, I ask you,
will you move mine to yours;
Give me your kiss and hug me,

laß mich bei dir erwarmen
und wollest, wie ich hoff zu dir,
in deinen Schutz mich fassen,
mit Hilfe, Lieb und Gunst gegen mir,
mich nimmermehr verlassen.

allow me to warm up with you.
And will you grasp me in your protection
as I hope you will,
With help, love and favour around me,
never again leave me.

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